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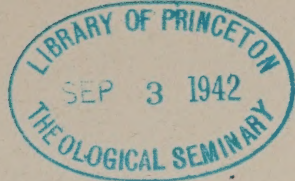






THE CHURCH  
IN  
THE NEW JAMAICA





# THE CHURCH IN THE NEW JAMAICA

A Study of the Economic and Social Basis  
of the  
Evangelical Church in Jamaica

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## FOREWORD

THIS study of *The Church in the New Jamaica* is a splendid example or pattern of what such a study should be. As such it should be recommended to special investigators as well as to deputations, commissions, and executives of missionary societies and churches sent forth to make reports on mission fields and problems. Beyond this it is a document which will make a very special appeal to all the church constituencies, whether in Great Britain, America, or elsewhere, who are concerned in the welfare of the people of Jamaica. The impression made by the first part of the survey, notwithstanding grounds of hope which one may have brought to its perusal, is one of discouragement; but as the reader works his way into the body and closing part he cannot but be deeply impressed by its realistic and, on the whole, its reassuring character.

In the series of his truly scientific studies covering many fields in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, not to mention his notable work as a missionary in Japan and later as Director of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Mr. Davis has won for himself a deserved reputation for thoroughness, fearlessness, and impartiality. He also has an undiscourageable faith in the adequacy of Christ and of His comprehensive program and Gospel.

As one who has known the author from his boyhood days in Japan, and as one who has been brought into intimate relations to him at every stage of his career for nearly half a century, I take pleasure in commending for favorable consideration and action this typically effective, trustworthy, and timely report, including its constructive proposals.

JOHN R. MOTT  
Honorary Chairman, International Missionary Council





## PREFACE

THIS STUDY looks to both Madras and London for its origin. At the World Missionary Conference held in December, 1938, in Madras, India, the Latin American delegates united in a request to the International Missionary Council that its Department of Social and Economic Research make studies of the economic basis of the Evangelical Churches in their various countries. Although the British territories were not represented in this action, the secretaries of the British Missionary Societies who were present at this conference urged the inclusion of the British West Indies in the areas to be studied. A little later, the late Lord Lloyd, then Colonial Secretary, suggested to the Conference of British Missionary Societies that they make a study of the social and economic conditions in the West Indies. The Royal Commission study of this area, which had just concluded under the leadership of Lord Moyne, lent special timeliness to the suggestion.

Shortly after this, the British Conference of Foreign Missionary Societies requested the director of the Department of Social and Economic Research to proceed to Jamaica to assist in the formation of a Jamaica Christian Council and, in co-operation with the Churches, to conduct a survey of the economic and social conditions in the island. In response to invitations received from the Bishop of Jamaica, the Right Reverend W. G. Hardie, and the Reverend E. Armon Jones, Superintendent of the Methodist Church in Jamaica, the director of the Department went to the colony in mid-April, 1941, and remained there until the end of May.

A Jamaica Christian Council was formed during this period with ten Christian bodies as charter members, and a survey of the economic and social problems of the Churches was carried out. In view of the existing social and economic unrest and the serious manner in which both Government and private agencies are facing conditions in the colony, it is difficult to over-estimate the timeliness of uniting the strength of the principal Churches for social action.

Jamaica is unique among the larger communities of the Caribbean area in several respects:

The island is not a mission field in the usual understanding of that term, since it has been evangelized for more than a century and in a sense is Christianized. The Protestant Church has had a far longer continuous life in Jamaica than it has had in any other part of the Greater Antilles. Some of its 1,200 churches are well over two centuries old.

The colony has the highest proportion of Negro stock, 95 to 98 per cent., of any country in the Caribbean area or in Latin America, with the exception of Haiti and one or two of the Leeward Islands.

In Jamaica we can observe the influence of English institutions and traditions—Church, law, education, and public opinion—upon a depressed population of slave origin throughout a period of more than 250 years.

Race relations between black, white and coloured are on the whole happier than in most lands where Anglo-Saxon and Negro live side by side. There is no colour line drawn in the churches nor basic distinction between the coloured and white ministry. The salary standards and responsibilities of pastors of both races are identical in several of the denominations.

An extraordinary amount of superstition and practice of the occult exists in Jamaica together with a 71.6 per cent. incidence of illegitimacy. This is one of the highest recorded rates in the world.

The British Government has recently concluded a thorough study of social and economic conditions in its West Indian colonies, and, upon the basis of its findings, a Permanent Welfare Commission for rehabilitating the British West Indies, backed by an appropriation of one million pounds a year, has been set up and is at work.

The world war has created a new economic and political balance in the West Indies through a re-alignment of commercial trends and markets and the inclusion of this great island area within the defense zone of the Americas. For the first time, Jamaica, with the other British West Indian islands, has been drawn into the orbit of North American vital interests.

Invaluable assistance was given the director by both the Churches and the Government of the Colony. The director

wishes to express his special gratitude to the Bishop of Jamaica, the Right Reverend W. G. Hardie, and to the Reverend E. Armon Jones of the Methodist Church; to Mr. B. H. Easter, C.B.E., Director of Education; Captain F. Burnett, M.C., Commissioner of Lands; Captain Norman, Director of Labour; Mr. G. A. Jones, C.M.G., Director of Agriculture; Mr. Victor Williams of the Food Control Board; and Miss Edith Clarke of the Board of Supervision. The director is indebted to the members of the staff of Jamaica Welfare Limited for arranging visits to many field projects and for elucidating their programmes of rehabilitation. He also wishes to thank the many principals of schools and colleges, local and district magistrates, planters, pastors, missionaries, and church superintendents in all parts of the island who entertained him and accompanied him to study local conditions. Finally, the director wishes to express his gratitude to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for assistance in meeting the expenses of the survey, including the cost of publishing the report.

The work of the Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Church of God, Disciples, Friends, Methodist, Moravian, Presbyterian, and Seventh-Day Adventist Churches, and that of the Salvation Army, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations was included in the survey.

Information was secured: (a) through interviews with individuals; (b) through group conferences in thirteen of the fourteen parishes of the island which were attended by magistrates, educators, ministers, planters, labourers, and social workers; (c) through surveys of local communities and the study of official and private records and reports; (d) through visits to sugar mills, banana estates, social welfare activities, official projects and institutions, churches, cottage industries, slums, schools, and colleges.

The purpose of the survey was to ascertain the chief economic and social problems of the island—particularly their relation to the life of the churches and the attitude of the churches toward these problems; to find ways and means whereby the various Churches could together constructively deal with them and co-operate with Government and private agencies.



This survey does not present a detailed analysis of economic and social conditions in Jamaica. First-class studies of these aspects of life in the colony have been recently concluded by specialists sent out for this purpose from England. These published studies have been invaluable as sources of reference and of correction in our own conclusions. Our task has been to try to adjust the Church to the economic and social frame which the present position in the island creates and to help chart the future course which the Church may take.

The most serious problems of Jamaica are not in the economic sphere, baffling as some of these unquestionably are, but rather are found in the social, cultural, and spiritual realms. The sinister entail of slavery—as seen in illegitimacy, lack of responsibility, inertia, superstition, illiteracy, and the absence of family life, which are among the chief enemies which stand in the path of Jamaica's progress—thwarts every effort toward economic rehabilitation. No sound development of the individual or of the country is possible until these enemies are successfully overcome. In this formidable task both Government and Church have in one another strong allies, each with special responsibilities which cannot be fulfilled by the other.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE JAMAICAN MICROCOSM

THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA, although politically related to many of the Leeward and Windward Islands, is a member of the Greater Antilles group lying in the Caribbean Sea only ninety miles south of Cuba and one hundred miles west of Hispaniola. It is separated from the North Atlantic and from the Lesser Antilles by these large islands. Jamaica occupies a central position within the Caribbean Sea and is upon the direct trade routes from Panama to Europe, North America, and South America. The island is situated between  $17^{\circ} 43'$  and  $18^{\circ} 32'$  N. latitude and  $76^{\circ} 11'$  and  $78^{\circ} 20' 50''$  W. longitude. It is 1,300 miles south of New York, 540 miles from Panama, and 310 miles from the nearest point of South America.

Since Jamaica is in the tropics and surrounded by the waters of the Caribbean Sea, the climate is warmer than that of Cuba, the mean temperature varying in range from  $75.7^{\circ}$  to  $86.4^{\circ}$ . The extremely mountainous topography of the island offers a wide variety of climatic and physical conditions. From a tropical heat at sea level, the thermometer falls to  $45^{\circ}$  on the tops of the highest mountains, while the extensive uplands and plateaux of the interior enjoy a delightful, temperate climate. Blue Mountain Peak is 7,360 feet above the sea.

Jamaica's length is 144 miles, her average width is about 35 miles, and only one-seventh of her area of 4,450 square miles is not mountainous. The average rainfall for the whole island is 73.87 inches and, except for a considerably diminished precipitation on the southern coast, is quite evenly distributed.

The island is divided into three counties: Cornwall, Middlesex, and Surrey, and these are sub-divided into fourteen parishes.

The Government of the Crown Colony of Jamaica consists of a Governor, a Privy Council, and a Legislative Council. The Governor is appointed by His Majesty for a period of six years. He is assisted by the Privy Council of eleven members, also named by the King. The Legislative Council, with five ex-officio members,

ten nominated members, and fourteen elected members—one from each parish of the island—convenes under the presidency of the Governor. A male voter must be twenty-one years of age, must possess real property on which he pays taxes of ten shillings a year, or he must have a salary or wages of fifty pounds a year, or rental of a dwelling or business house on which he pays ten pounds a year. Women voters must be twenty-five years of age, must be literate, and must pay taxes to the amount of two pounds a year. During the last ten years the number of registered voters has averaged about one in fifteen of the adult population.<sup>1</sup> The population of Jamaica was estimated in January, 1939, at 1,173,645 and showed an average annual growth for the preceding five-year period of 18,500.<sup>2</sup> This would give the island 1,200,000 people with a density of 273 persons to the square mile. This is about three times the population density of Cuba but only one-half that of Puerto Rico and one-fourth that of the island of Barbados.

Jamaica, with its small island dependencies, comprises about one-third of the area and contains nearly one-half of the population of the British West Indies. The island is one-fourth again as large as Puerto Rico in area but has only two-thirds of the population of its neighbour. Few islands in the world rival the physical beauty and variety of scenery of Jamaica. Nature has lavishly endowed it with grand mountains, undulating uplands, rushing torrents, golden beaches, and luxuriant foliage, while its fertile soils and bounteous rainfall create ideal agricultural conditions.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus in 1494, but it was not until 1509 that the first settlement was built on the northern shore at St. Ann's Bay under the direction of Diego, Columbus' son, the Governor of Hispaniola. The Spanish occupation of Jamaica lasted 161 years. In 1655 a force sent by Cromwell to conquer Hispaniola took the island. A civil government was set up in 1661, and in 1670 England's title to Jamaica was recognized in the Treaty of Madrid. Traces of Spanish occupation remain in such

1. *The Handbook of Jamaica, 1939* (Jamaica: The Government Printing Office, Kingston), pp. 44-47.

2. *Jamaica—Annual General Report with Departmental Reports, 1938* (Kingston: Government Printers, 1938), p. 5.

place names as Rio Grande, St. Jago de la Vega, Ocho Rios, and in a few architectural ruins, but the 287 years of the British regime in the island have largely obliterated evidences of Spanish control in Jamaica.

The coming of the English gave a strong impetus to the economic development of the island, and during the eighteenth century the sugar estates of Jamaica became a chief source of sugar supply for the mother country. Under Spanish occupation, the native Arawak Indians had disappeared, and the estates were worked by great numbers of Negro slaves brought from the West Coast of Africa. Between 1799 and 1807, more than 86,800 slaves were imported, and when the slave trade was abolished in 1807 there were 319,351 slaves in Jamaica.<sup>3</sup> As a result of this extensive importation of Negroes, Jamaica has one of the highest ratios of Africans in its population of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere. This is variously estimated from 90 to 95 per cent., and, if the coloured people were included, would amount to 98 per cent. of the population of the island.

The Africans who were brought as slaves to Jamaica have been identified by their religious practices and language as Gold Coast natives. Sir Harry Johnston wrote in 1910:

Koromantin was the first and greatest of the British slave-trade depots on the Gold Coast. . . . Either the larger proportion of the slaves were drawn from the Gold Coast . . . between 1680 and 1807, or this ethnic type (Fanti, Ashanti, and their kindred) prevailed over the others. This is shown by the greater part of Jamaica folklore being traceable to the Gold Coast and its hinterland, and by the fact that the fragments of African speech still lingering in the Negro-English dialect of Jamaica are derived from the Chivi (Twi) language of Ashanti-Fanti. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Among the upper-class Negroes of Jamaica, the superior traits of the Ashanti Negro can be recognized today in spite of centuries of intermarriage with other tribal strains. The African folkways, superstition, and magic still persist and provide some of the major problems of Jamaican society.

The racial situation of Jamaica has several distinguishing characteristics. Certain political, economic, and social factors

3. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

4. Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* (London: 1910), pp. 111, 275.

as well as the unusual groupings of the population have brought this about. At the apex of the pyramid representing the Crown stands the British official who has been sent to the island with responsibility to govern. Jamaica is his temporary assignment. He knows that in time he will be transferred or retired and that his term of residence is limited. Jamaica has been fortunate in the personnel of her officials. They represent the finest British traditions and are carrying on with intelligence and enthusiasm. Then, there is the small class of planters and estate owners—Englishmen whose forefathers for generations have occupied the “great house” in the centre of broad fields of sugarcane, bananas, or coconuts. Here is good breeding, a sense of *noblesse oblige*, a familiarity and friendliness, together with a disillusionment with the Jamaican working classes who are descended from their former slaves.

A third group, potentially the most powerful in the island, is the educated and nationally-conscious Jamaican mulatto with both European and African blood in his veins. Many of these men are graduates of the best colleges of the island and not infrequently of English universities. They fill the Civil Service ranks and are found in the district and higher courts. From them are appointed the assistants to the English heads of government departments. They are the barristers, the doctors, the teachers, and the pastors. They are carrying the burden of responsibility for the life of the island but are without the power to direct and control. These men are leaders of the mass of uneducated and underprivileged Jamaicans, and yet they are vastly far above them and culturally, in their speech and way of life, are Englishmen. Among this group are some of the ablest minds and most brilliant leaders of the island.

Far below the Jamaican just described and constituting an altogether different world is the Jamaican proletariat—the “hewers of wood and drawers of water”—who provide the bulk of labour for the estates, the casual labour on farms and in towns and who constitute the numerous, shifting, unattached class of workers.

Between this group and the educated coloured Jamaican is the small farmer—the man who owns and cultivates from three to twenty acres, who grows his own cane, fruit, and vegetables.



Fortunately, this type is a growing class in Jamaica, possibly more numerous here than in any other West Indian island—certainly far more numerous than in Cuba or Puerto Rico. From this group emerge from time to time small landed proprietors who own or control fifty to one hundred or more acres. Here is the nucleus of a rural middle class, and in their hands the stability of Jamaican society will increasingly rest.

Race relations in Jamaica impress one as happier, and mutual respect and friendship between black and white are of a higher order than in any land we have visited where the two races live side by side. However, conversations with highly educated coloured Jamaicans made clear the presence among thinking people of a very real social and political tension. This has come about partly through the dominating rôle of the whites in the large affairs of the island, partly through the exclusion of the qualified Jamaican from a share in the responsibility of Government, and partly from a growing awareness among Jamaicans of discrimination suffered by members of their race in the United States and in parts of the British Empire. This tension and unrest have found organized expression in the People's Party which is seeking to secure larger social, economic, and civic rights for the Jamaican.

As would be expected, the pattern of social and cultural life in Jamaica is English. In Kingston, the visitor is impressed with the presence of a black and coloured English society, an orderly, rather grave and reserved population as contrasted with the exciteable, noisy proletariat in Cuba or Puerto Rico. The schools, courts, churches, newspapers, and amenities of life have produced an English type of life in the capital city which, although it harbours serious slum conditions and widespread unemployment and distress, is reminiscent of English life in other parts of the British Empire.

The picture rapidly changes as one leaves the city for the rural areas. The English pattern of life persists in the parochial centres which have a core of Anglo-Saxon institutions—churches, schools, shops, and homes—but the outskirts of the towns and the bulk of the great rural areas are a different world. Aside from Kingston with its population of one hundred thousand, there are no large cities in Jamaica. Spanishtown, the only other

city of the island, has thirteen thousand people. The capitals of the parishes are small towns ranging in population from 1,500 to 6,000. The life of the islanders is essentially rural and agricultural in outlook, activities, social life, and economic interests. Ninety per cent. of the island population live in scattered villages, hamlets, and homesteads, and upon the large estates are aggregations of workers housed in barracks or cottages.

In these tiny centres, although the police, church, store, and school are in evidence, the pattern of life is distinct from that of Kingston or the parochial centres. Outwardly conforming to the sanctions of the white man's system of life, the bulk of the people are still swayed by other than Anglo-Saxon or Christian sanctions. The obeah man, with his sorcery and witchcraft, holds the power of success or even of life and death over many people. Pocomania groups (Chapter III, pages 44-47) and emotional religious sects give outlets for the untamed emotions which church and school taboo. The young people discover opportunities for recreation and self-expression which are not supplied them by the Church. The outward controls and patterns are English and Christian, but the inner, intimate life of the countryside is still in large part African, pagan, superstitious, and undisciplined.

Two different worlds, one superimposed upon the other, are enclosed in this small island. One is endeavouring to substitute an unfamiliar discipline, Christian values and conduct for the content of reality to which the other clings. Government, Church, and school legislate and teach upon an assumption of values which exist only dimly in the understanding and experience of the other group, and on this assumption they urge principles of law, sanctity of the person and of private property, and sacredness of home, marriage, of the given word, and of personal responsibility. These things often mean one thing to the lawyer, preacher, and teacher, and quite another, or nothing at all, to the peasant worker with his limited outlook and recent slave background.

The economy of Jamaica is essentially agricultural. Ninety per cent. of the people are closely related to the land. The depressed living standards, low wage levels, and unemployment which exist cannot be blamed upon a lack of natural resources

but rather upon the poor distribution of land, its sequestration in great estates, excessive dependence upon export products, lack of diversified agriculture and industries, bad housing, the waste of leisure time, illiteracy, low vitality, malnutrition, illegitimacy, and superstition.

Jamaica is one of the few countries of the West Indies in which sugar production is not the primary industry. For many years bananas were the main crop of the island, and still are. In 1938, the banana crop accounted for 59.4 per cent. of the total value of Jamaican exports, which amounted to £5,032,740; unrefined sugar, 17.5 per cent.; rum, derived from sugar, 5. per cent.; all other natural products, 18.1 per cent. Jamaican annual imports amounted in that same year to £6,485,221.<sup>5</sup> By means of this exchange economy, the colony not only pays for practically all of its manufactured articles but also pays for a very large part of the basic foods which it consumes. The anomaly of an essentially agricultural and maritime country importing annually one million pounds worth of rice, flour, beans, dried fish, milk, meat, and butter is apparent.

*The Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire, 1936*, gives the following figures for imports in that year:<sup>6</sup>

<i>Imports</i>	<i>Pounds Sterling</i>
Grain (rice, flour, pulse) . . . . .	652,184
Fish . . . . .	246,636
Milk . . . . .	113,277
Meat . . . . .	73,035
Butter and substitutes . . . . .	60,796

Pimento, coffee, coconuts (copra), logwood extracts, cocoa, ginger, citrus fruits, and tobacco follow bananas and sugar in the order of their importance as export products. Banana cultivation is well suited to Jamaican soil, climate, and terrain, requires no expensive machinery for processing and is easily cultivated and marketed by the small farmer. This has been the mainstay of the small peasant in Jamaica. Although hard hit in recent years by Panama Disease and Leaf Spot and, more recently, by war restrictions upon importation into Great Britain,

5. *Jamaica—Annual General Report, op. cit.*, p. 23.

6. Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, O.B.E., *Labour Conditions in the West Indies* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), p. 70.

bananas continue to be the small man's export crop. One hundred thousand labourers who, together with their families, represent three hundred thousand Jamaicans are dependent upon this industry. This number constitutes 43 per cent. of all the labour employed by the various industries of the colony.<sup>7</sup>

Contrasted with bananas, oranges, and coffee, the production of sugar requires an amount of capital, machinery, and organizing ability that necessitates large-scale activity. The demands of modern markets, have concentrated the industry under the management of a few large factories, with machinery and technical processes standardized to compete with world-wide production. This centralization of the manufacture of sugar, however, has not been accompanied by an equal centralization in the ownership of sugar lands. Many of the great companies rely for their output upon the cane produced by hundreds of small growers.

In 1938, there were 41,000 or 18 per cent. of the 231,000 labourers in Jamaica listed as sugar hands. Including their dependents, the sugar labour force comprises more than 120,000 people, or 10 per cent. of the population.<sup>8</sup> The mill hands are housed in or near the sugar estates in barracks or in small cottages accommodating one or two families. The larger mills provide running water, electric lights, medical, clinical, and hospital services. In a few instances, playing fields and club facilities for the mill hands are furnished. A large proportion of the field labour is supplied by peasants who live in tiny cottages or huts scattered over the countryside within a radius of a few miles of the mill. These people usually have the use of a little land on which they cultivate food crops for themselves and supplement their seasonal wages which continue only during the few months of the grinding season.

Child labour is prohibited by law but is a problem on these large estates. Contradictory statements on child labour were made to us by mill officials and cane workers. The labour officer of one of the largest sugar companies assured us that there was no child labour in their whole organization and that their

7. Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, O.B.E., *Labour Conditions in the West Indies* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), p. 98.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 98.



youngest workers were sixteen years old. On the other hand, a woman timekeeper asserted that she had personal responsibility for recording the working time of forty-two children between the ages of seven and twelve who worked on the estate in question at wages of 4d. to 6d. a day.

This large company which is typical of the most modern organizations in the island employs 6,200 workers of whom 1,200 work in or around the mill and 5,000 in the fields. One half of the field force has employment throughout the year, and the other half for only five months. During the remaining seven months, these 2,500 labourers return to their homes in other parts of the island or live off their small garden plots on the estate land. About one-half of the tenant workers raise food for their own tables and also market their surplus crops. Prizes are given by the company for the best kept homes and gardens. Three-quarters of the workers live in company-owned houses of two or three rooms, or houses of their own, within three-quarters of a mile from the mill or from the centre of one of the six estates which comprise the consolidated company's area. Two hundred workers or members of workers' families visit the clinic daily for treatment of yaws, malaria, ulcerated bruises, and other injuries. Only one case of tuberculosis was reported last year. The company is building an athletic field and a community social hall for games, reading, dancing, radio, and cinema entertainments.

On some of the smaller estates we found that conditions and amenities were on a more primitive scale, and labour relations were of a more paternalistic and personal nature. One company relied upon the small cane producers of the neighbourhood for three-quarters of its cane supply, and its field workers came in seasonally, as needed, from a wide surrounding area. Many of the men were part-time farmers on their own account, and their relationship with the sugar mill had been inherited through several generations of workers.

The least satisfactory conditions were found in a type of mill midway between the great modern corporation with its model housing and amenities and the small organization with scattered workers and a paternalistic labour relationship. On some of these medium-sized estates we found ancient labour



barracks—unsanitary, overcrowded, dreary, and with unsightly surroundings. An air of shiftlessness, apathy, and lack of discipline was apparent among the tenants in these barracks.

There is evidence that labour conditions upon Jamaican sugar estates are steadily, although slowly, improving. The presence of a few powerful companies who provide model housing, medical care, and social amenities tends to set standards which the whole industry in the island will eventually have to recognize.

Labour wages in Jamaica have shown a slight rise during the last thirty-five years, but this rise has not paralleled the increased cost of living during the same period. Common male labour on the sugar estates in 1915 was paid 1s. 6d., and women 1s. per day. In 1941, mill superintendents told us that men working in the cane fields earned from 1s. 6d. to 2s., and women from 9d. to 1s. 2d. according to the grade of work done. However, wages of workmen in Kingston, have nearly doubled in this period—increasing, for common male labour, from 1s. 5d. to 3s. 3d. and for artisans from 4s. to 7s. In the sugar industry, firemen are paid 2s. 9d. to 4s. 9d.; engine drivers, 3s. 9d. to 5s.; and foremen, 6s. 6d. to 9s. per day respectively. In the sugar and banana industries, very little work is done by day contract but instead is done by the “task,” the unit of measurement being the “square” chain (ten to the acre). Wages paid by the banana industry are similar to those paid on the sugar estates except that women may earn as high as 1s. 6d. per day in “heading out” (carrying) the banana stems from the field to the road. Wharf wages are the highest paid for common labour in the island, 10d. per hour for shore work, and 11d. on the ship, while night work and work during meal hours is paid at double rates. The irregularity of stevedoring, at times calling for thirty to forty hours of continuous work alternating with many days of intervening idleness, places the 6,000 stevedores of Jamaica under very trying labour conditions.<sup>9</sup>

The Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire reports the close relation between the low incomes of the great majority of Jamaicans and the high incidence of malnutrition:

9. Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, O.B.E., *Labour Conditions in the West Indies* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), pp. 94-98.

Adverse economic conditions, the poverty of the masses, low wages, unemployment, the over-large family, and the high percentage of illegitimacy are the root causes of most of the malnutrition found. The average income of 184,000 or 92 per cent. of the employed population in 1935 fell below 25s. per week, and 147,700 or 17 per cent. received an average of 14s. per week. These are the sums earned by the male earner responsible for an average of five persons, but in a large number of cases he shirks his responsibility leaving it to the woman to bear most of the family burden on an intermittently earned wage of 5s. per week. The difficulty of maintaining families under such circumstances is reflected in the infant mortality.<sup>10</sup>

(This figure was 118 per 1,000 births in 1937.)

Jamaica depends so fully upon its export crops, such as bananas and sugar, that until recently few attempts have been made to balance the deficiency in island diet through the cultivation of such vitamin-containing foods as tomatoes, lettuce, carrots, etc. Nor has milk been considered an essential part of the Jamaican diet.

... A very high percentage of the population are suffering from varying degrees of subnormal nutrition and the nutritional state of a distressingly large proportion of the labouring classes is definitely bad. ... Of 12,000 children examined, multiple avitaminosis was found in about 20 per cent., the most striking signs being blindness, glossitis, stomatitis, dry skin, and anaemia. Evidence of mild rickets is frequently found among the younger school children and although no cases of beriberi, pellagra and scurvy have been detected in schools, the condition of many children suggests a near approach to these diseases. Dental caries is also exceedingly prevalent. The state of nutrition, alike in adults and children, is complicated by the considerable prevalence of yaws, hookworm infection and malaria.<sup>11</sup>

Careful analysis of various family budgets submitted indicates that the cost of food for an adult is from 5s. to 7s. weekly. To this must be added rent at 2s. to 4s. per room per week; clothing 2s. to 3s.; other household expenses 2s. to 3s.; or a total of 11s. to 17s. weekly in all for a town-dweller.<sup>12</sup>

10. First Report—Part II of the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire, *Summary of Information regarding Nutrition in the Colonial Empire* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), p. 91.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

12. Orde Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

The worker who earns an average of 14s. weekly, if married and supporting a family, finds it impossible to balance his budget unless his wife and growing children also work.

The position of the country worker is much more favourable since his expenses are probably not more than one-half those of the Kingston dweller. His rent is negligible, and he has access to various wild and semi-wild fruits and usually has the use of a plot of ground for his own garden.

Housing standards among the workers of Jamaica are conspicuously bad. Two factors largely account for these conditions: first, the antiquity of the city of Kingston and the parochial centres where the communities have inherited the unsanitary and disreputable premises which have come down through the generations and into which the poor have naturally gravitated; second, the tradition of the estate barracks—a legacy of slavery—to which both employer and employee have become accustomed and which are but slowly being replaced by individual cottages.

. . . A recent official survey puts the size of the average room at 640 cubic feet (approximately 9 feet by 10 feet by 7 feet), the average occupancy being two per room on banana estates as against 2.5 on sugar estates. Light and ventilation were deficient in 50 per cent.; latrines were bad in 70 per cent.; almost half needed repair; while water supply and cooking and washing facilities were conspicuously poor. . . . Marked improvement has already been effected on certain estates, though progress must be gradual since the cost of replacement amounts to a formidable figure. . . .<sup>13</sup>

The housing problem of Jamaica is far more than a question of sanitation and health. It conditions the possibility of all real family life, which is the foundation of national strength and progress. Bad housing with the crowding of children and adults into tiny rooms is one of the chief causes of illegitimacy, precocious sex knowledge, infidelity, and crime. Such conditions create the negation of the basic values that Government, Church, and school have been endeavouring for more than one hundred years to communicate to the Jamaican. Viewed from this angle, there is no greater need than the provision of decent houses in which a normal and orderly family life may develop.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CHURCH IN JAMAICA

JAMAICA IS NOT a missionary field in the usually accepted meaning of that term. The island has been evangelized for a full half century and is today more plentifully supplied with churches and church institutions than many areas of equal size in so-called Christian lands.

The Church of England was established in the island by Sir Charles Lyttleton, the Deputy Governor, in 1662, not as a missionary Church but to minister to the British officials, soldiers, and colonists. It is of interest to note that—"An early Act of Government laid on all slave owners the duty of instructing their slaves for baptism; . . . The Act gave no powers of compulsion, and it was in fact a dead letter."<sup>1</sup>

In 1794 a Society was formed in London by Bishop Porteous "for the Conversion and Education of Negro slaves" which sent a few missionaries and school teachers to the West Indies. This movement reflected the growing sentiment in Great Britain for the abolition of slavery, and it was bitterly opposed by the planters, for they sensed the peril to their interests that lay in educating and Christianizing their slaves.

In 1824 Bishop Lipscomb was appointed to Jamaica, and Bishop Coleridge to Barbados with instructions that they should work for the conversion of the slaves, and from that date the missionary work of the Anglican Church in Jamaica may be said to have begun.

With the Act of Parliament which decreed the freeing of the slaves in 1833, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began to raise a special Negro Education Fund. Between 1835 and 1850 this Missionary Society spent £171,000 in the West Indies on churches, schools, and missionaries to serve them.<sup>2</sup>

Following the final abolition of the slave trade in 1838, a

1. H. P. Thompson, *The West Indies* (Westminster, England: S. P. G. Handbooks, 1937), pp. 30, 33, 34.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36, 37.



Curates Act was enacted by which a curate was appointed to each parish to instruct the Negroes. A fee of two shillings six pence was given to the curate for every slave baptized.

The Moravian Church was the first missionary society to begin work for the Jamaicans. Since 1754, their missionaries have worked continuously in Jamaica. The Moravians were followed by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1789 and shortly after by the Baptists. The first Presbyterian missionary reached Jamaica in 1823, and the Congregationalists in 1834. Thus the principal Protestant missionary societies have been at work in Jamaica from 108 to 188 years. Today, after nearly two centuries of missionary activity in the island, there are 1,200 organized churches and chapels, 400 ordained ministers, 150,000 baptized members, and some 425,000 adherents to the Protestant faith. One hundred thousand children are enrolled in 850 Sunday schools; 10,000 candidates are listed for baptism or as catechumens; and 500 day schools, operated by Protestant churches, enrol over 90,000 pupils.

The non-conformist missionaries, particularly the Baptists and Wesleyans, bore the brunt of popular opposition to the Christianizing of the slaves. Following the slave rebellion of 1831, the Baptist missionaries were imprisoned and mobbed, and many chapels were destroyed. But with the ending of slavery in 1831, the opposition quieted and the Churches of Jamaica settled down to the task of equipping the freed slaves spiritually and educationally for their new liberty.

#### THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

The largest, most influential, and oldest of the ten principal groups of Protestant (non-Roman) Churches in Jamaica is the Anglican Church. Its 245 churches and chapels are served by 97 ordained clergy and enrol 44,000 registered communicant members. The *Jamaica Blue Book*, 1938, lists the adherents of the Anglican Church at 266,478.

The Anglican churches and chapels are very widely placed throughout the island. Many of the parish churches are venerable and beautiful structures, and a few, such as the cathedral at Spanishtown, date from the British occupation of the island. Upon the memorial monuments of the parish churches may



be read the life history of the colony in the names of the governors, officers, and prominent citizens who led its affairs through nearly three hundred years. On the other hand, the Anglican Church is serving the common people on sugar estates, banana plantations, and in remote rural areas under a well-trained ministry. A great number of its ministers are native Jamaicans, and there is no discrimination in salary standards or advancement in office between the European and Jamaican pastor.

Since its disestablishment in 1870, the Anglican Church in Jamaica has been entirely dependent for support upon the gifts of the local congregations. The receipts of money paid into the Diocesan Fund in 1937 for all purposes were £19,247 8s. 10d. Of this amount £16,111 were used for meeting the salaries of the clergy and catechists. In spite of the names of many high-salaried community leaders upon the membership rolls, the support of its large work presents the Church with a perennially serious problem. The Right Reverend William George Hardie, M.A., has held the office of Bishop of Jamaica since 1931.

An official of the Synod described the financing of the Church in this way:

Each of our curates has to scramble around for himself and sends the local funds to the Diocesan Treasurer who then pays the salaries back to the curates. The European and Jamaican pastors are paid the same salaries: £200 to £250 a year. The Jamaican church member takes pride in having a well-educated pastor who lives in a dignified house, rather than in the usual simple type of dwelling, and one who rides in a motor car and not on a horse. To be sure they grumble at the high salaries they have to pay the minister, but they also object to a cheap, uneducated man who lives like themselves. We send only a very few exceptionally gifted men to England for special theological training.

#### THE MORAVIAN CHURCH

The Moravian Church in Jamaica was founded in 1754 and is second only to the Anglican Church in age. It numbers 36 churches manned by 15 pastors, one half of whom are Englishmen and the other half Jamaicans. Although its foreign missionaries have been mostly English, the Church in Jamaica

forms an independent Synod of the Herrnhut Church of Germany.

The Moravian Church has a communicant membership of 5,433 and a constituency of 25,000. It also carries on its rolls a special category of temporarily suspended members who have been disciplined but not expelled. These suspended members are as numerous as the communicant members. The Church maintains 55 day schools with 11,297 pupils enrolled and 45 Sunday schools with 6,013 scholars. It also operates a Training College for Women at Bethlehem, St. Elizabeth Parish.

The Church is about 84 per cent. self-supporting—the remaining 16 per cent. of its budget being supplied by the Missionary Society. The total annual budget is £4,300. The native pastors receive £155 per year in salary; the missionary pastors receive the same amount with an additional £45 paid them by the Missionary Society. Reserve funds are being created for building extension, pensions, etc. The Jamaica Moravian Church receives aid from both the British and American branches of the Society. The Right Reverend Bishop A. Westphal, B.D., Lincoln P. O., is President of the Jamaica Synod, and the Reverend William A. Kaltreider, Kingston, is Treasurer.

#### THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica (Church of Scotland) dates from 1823 when the Scottish Missionary Society of Edinburgh received a request from several estate proprietors to send out a minister to instruct their slaves. For many years the Presbyterian work in Jamaica was carried on by both the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland and the Church of Scotland. Subsequent to the union of the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland in 1931, the two organizations in Jamaica were amalgamated to form "The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica in federal relation with the Church of Scotland."

On the roll of the Synod in 1940 were 98 congregations with 35 ministers of whom 12 were missionaries sent out from Scotland. There were 30 catechists, 12,839 members, 567 candidates for baptism, 140 Sunday schools with 9,474 pupils, and 72 day schools enrolling 11,595 scholars. The *Jamaica Blue Book*, 1938,

gave 35,000 Presbyterian adherents in the island of Jamaica. The entire income of the Church in 1938 was £8,623 of which £4,435 were paid from Scotland for salaries of missionaries and grants for training students. Each congregation is assessed a stipend which goes into the Central Synod Fund and from this the pastors' salaries are paid. The Jamaican pastor's salary is £200; the missionary pastor receives £300 plus certain allowances. The Presbyterian Church maintains funds for building, insurance, travel, a benefit fund for widows and orphans, an invalid and holiday fund, and a superannuation fund.

The Presbyterian Church in Jamaica has the status of a Presbytery in the Church of Scotland. The 12 missionaries are loaned to it, and their salaries are paid by that organization. The missionaries have the same status and work as the Jamaican pastors.

A Theological School with ten students is maintained by the Church in which certain courses are taught jointly with the Baptist and Methodist Theological Schools. Theological students receive grants of £50 from Scotland. An Industrial Home for 20 boys is operated in Manchester Parish, an Industrial Farm School for boys at Montego Bay, and a Home for Girls at Carron Hall in the parish of St. Mary. Here, too, is the admirable Training Centre for Girls in domestic science and handiwork which is run jointly by Church and Government. St. Andrew's High School for Girls is operated jointly with the Methodists at Half-way Tree. In addition to these schools, the Church employs four catechists in a Mission to the East Indians of Jamaica. The Clerk of the Synod is the Reverend J. W. Kilpatrick, M.A., B.D.

#### THE METHODIST CHURCH

Methodist work in Jamaica dates from 1789 when the first missionary commissioned by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society arrived in the island. Now there are 173 churches with 41 ministers of whom 20 are missionaries. There are 19,551 members, 889 members on trial, 188 Sunday schools with 15,141 scholars, and 73 day schools enrolling 16,235 pupils. The constituency of the Church is estimated at 40,000. The 173 churches are organized in 32 circuits, 10 of which are entirely self-sup-

porting, and the work is assisted by 644 lay preachers. The average Methodist minister has responsibility for 3 churches.

The Church operates a College and Theological School in Kingston, a Cottage Home for orphaned children at St. Ann's Bay, and conducts the Girls High School at Half-way Tree together with the Presbyterians. Two deaconesses in charge of a girls training centre are working among the women and girls in Kingston.

The English pastors receive a salary of £256 and the Jamaican pastors are paid £225. The former also receive various special allowances. The entire annual budget of the Methodist Church, 1940, was £12,674 of which £10,502 or 80 per cent. was received from the Jamaican churches and £2,172 or 20 per cent. was given by the Methodist Missionary Society. The Reverend E. Armon Jones is Superintendent of the Methodist Church in Jamaica.

#### THE BAPTIST CHURCH

The Baptist Church is the second in size in the island. It has 216 churches and chapels organized in 43 circuits and served by 56 ordained ministers. There are 23,500 registered members and 125,000 adherents. The 200 Sunday schools enrol 25,000 pupils. There are 1,350 enquirers.

The bulk of the Baptist work in Jamaica is organized under the Jamaica Baptist Union, although an indeterminate number of Baptist churches are outside of this organization. In addition to 96 elementary schools, the Baptist Union operates the Calabar College and High School and a small Theological School. The Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1855, employs its own foreign missionary in Haiti.

Since 1842 the Baptist churches of Jamaica have been completely self-supporting and have had no connection with the Baptist Church of Great Britain. The pastors are Jamaican, and no English missionaries are connected with the Jamaica Church except the principal and the tutor of Calabar College whose salaries are paid by the Baptist Missionary Society in England. The financial problem of the Church is a heavy one, since a large proportion of its members are drawn from the humblest classes. Eighty pounds is the average salary of the Jamaican



pastor. However, in 1937, besides the cost of pastoral support and Home and Foreign Missions, the churches raised £3,206 for building purposes. The Reverend R. A. L. Knight, M.A., B.D., Falmouth is Secretary of the Baptist Union of Jamaica.

#### THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION

The London Missionary Society sent its first missionaries to Jamaica in 1834 but withdrew its connection when, in 1876, the Congregational Union was formed. The work then passed over to the Colonial Missionary Society of London. There are 36 organized churches in charge of 10 ordained ministers, one-half of whom are from England. These churches have 2,521 communicant members and 6,000 adherents. Thirty-eight Sunday schools enrol 2,670 scholars. In the 18 day schools operated by the Union, 4,500 children are enrolled.

The Jamaican pastors receive up to £140 per year in salary, and the missionary pastors are paid £250 from the Colonial Missionary Society. Of the total annual budget of £3,110 of the Congregational Church, £2,260 or 72.66 per cent. is supplied by the Congregational Union of Jamaica. However, if the expenses of church building, schools, and special funds raised from time to time are included, the Congregational Union of Jamaican Churches can be said to be responsible for 85 to 90 per cent. of the total cost of operation. As is usual in Jamaica, the cost of theological training is supplied from England.

The Reverend Frank Nichol, 4 Surbiton Road, Half-way Tree, is the Secretary of the Jamaica Congregational Union.

#### SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The first work of the Society of Friends in Jamaica was opened after a visit of George Fox to the colony in the seventeenth century, and records show that the first Meeting House in the island was at Kingston in 1740.

Nearly sixty years ago, following a visit from an American Quaker to Jamaica, the present work of the Friends Missionary Society began. There are 12 Friends churches with 3 ordained ministers, 939 members, and a constituency estimated at 500. There are 75 catechumens in training for membership.

Included in the work of the churches are 13 Sunday schools

with 916 scholars and 11 day schools enrolling 1,033 pupils. Among the 4 special and higher schools of this group are a Training College for teachers, a Social Workers School, a Nursery School, and an Industrial and Agricultural School.

The total annual budget of this denomination amounts to \$2,182.04 (£545) of which the Jamaican churches supply one-third and the Missionary Society provides two-thirds. The average salary of both the Jamaican pastors and the American missionaries is £156 a year.

There are four American Friends missionaries connected with the Jamaica work who are appointed by the Religious Society of Friends, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, U. S. A. The social welfare and training activities of the Society of Friends are described in Chapter V of this report.

The Friends Society has emphasized training for leadership and has high educational standards. Its churches and schools are situated in the north-eastern districts of Jamaica. The Secretary of the Friends Society is the Reverend Frank F. Nixon, Hector's River, P.O.

#### THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN JAMAICA

The Church of Christ in Jamaica was opened in 1858 by the American Christian Missionary Society, later known as the United Christian Missionary Society. The churches are organized in the Jamaican Association of Christian Churches and number 36 congregations with an active membership of 5,000 and an equal number of associate members. There are 8 ordained ministers, one of whom is a missionary appointed by the United Christian Missionary Society of Indianapolis, U. S. A.

The average salary paid to the pastors is £150 a year and, of this amount, £15 are supplied by an endowment fund created by the Board of Missions. Including the money raised in Jamaica for buildings, repairs, home missions, etc., this group of churches is 95 per cent. self-supporting. The ordained ministers of this denomination have all been trained in the United States, and the cost of such training is met by the Board of Missions. The Reverend E. R. Moon is Superintendent of the Church of Christ in Jamaica.

#### THE CHURCH OF GOD

There are several branches of the Church of God in Jamaica,

but the work of only one, which has become a charter member of the Jamaica Christian Council, is included in this resumé.

There are 20 organized churches and 60 outstations in this denominational group which has 18 ordained pastors, 2,142 members, and 4,331 adherents. Nineteen of the 20 organized churches are entirely self-supporting, and only 4 of the 60 outstations receive financial help. There are 10 missionaries working with the Jamaican churches, 2 of whom are Englishmen and 8 Americans.

Of the entire budget of this church group, amounting to £2,772 16s. 1d., the Jamaican churches supply £1,602 16s. 1d. and £1,170 are contributed by the mission board. The average salary paid to the pastors is £98 8s., while the missionaries receive £165 paid entirely by the Mission Board.

Seventy-eight Sunday schools enrol 3,472 pupils. This denomination also operates 4 day schools in rural areas and an elementary and secondary school in Kingston with 150 pupils who are carried as far as the twelfth standard. The school is a source of church workers who are given further education upon graduation. The Reverend George Olsen, 15 Ardenne Rd., Cross Roads, is the Secretary of this Church.

#### THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

The first church of the Seventh-Day Adventists was opened in Jamaica in 1894. There are 137 organized churches under 17 ordained ministers and 10,515 members. The 176 Sunday schools enrol 10,515 scholars, and 275 day pupils attend 5 day schools.

Aside from the faculty of the West Indian Training College, no foreign missionaries are connected with this Church. As is usual among churches of this denomination, tithing is universally practised with the result that one hundred per cent. of the churches are self-supporting. The annual operating budget of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church is £6,500. The pastors receive a salary of £180. The self-supporting West Indian Training College of this denomination at Mandeville is described in Chapter V.

#### THE SALVATION ARMY

The Salvation Army came to Jamaica in 1887 and from here its work has extended to nearly the whole of the West Indies and to parts of Central America. There are 97 organized centres in Jamaica with 99 full-time officers, of whom 18 are European.

There are 4,990 recruits, soldiers, and adherents. The work is spread widely over the island, and each Corps is a centre of both evangelistic and social regeneration. The Army conducts 50 Sunday schools with 5,251 scholars enrolled and 15 day schools with 552 pupils.

The Army's total operating budget is £8,200 of which £5,200 are spent upon evangelistic work and £3,000 upon social work. Seventy per cent. of the total budget of £5,742 is raised in Jamaica, and £2,464 or 30 per cent. is supplied from England.

An Officers Training School with 22 candidates, both men and women, is maintained in Kingston. The Army's work is highly organized and well-integrated. Brigadier Norman Ord is the Divisional Commander of the Army in Jamaica, and Colonel H. S. Hodgson is in command of the West Indian and Central American territory. A brief account of the varied projects of social, economic, and spiritual rehabilitation conducted by the Salvation Army in Jamaica may be found in Chapter V.

#### THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The work of the Young Men's Christian Association in Jamaica is limited almost entirely to the city of Kingston. The work is under the direction of the Overseas Division of the National Young Men's Christian Association of Great Britain, but it is entirely supported from Jamaican sources. Of the 800 young men enrolled, including many nationalities and races, 150 are active members and have been admitted by special dedicatory services to the inner fellowship of the Y.M.C.A.

The Association is giving a most valuable service to unattached young men and boys in Kingston. Its Bible classes, luncheon clubs, educational classes, and recreation and summer camp programmes are well patronized.

The Association is providing recreation and educational classes for 1,000 prisoners of war—missionaries and other enemy civilians who have been interned in Kingston—and is acting as liaison with the home friends of the internees. Mr. Harry Edwards is General Secretary of the Kingston association.

#### THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The Young Women's Christian Association of Jamaica is under the auspices of the National Board of the British organization.



Its roomy headquarters and spacious grounds are admirably suited to serve the young girls and women of the city. The programme of the Association centres largely in service and recreational clubs which have a total enrolment of 750 girls and in secretarial and domestic training classes preparing girls for service in the offices and homes of the city. Among the many features of the Association's programme are: Bible classes, sports and recreation, music classes, a residence hostel, a lecture programme, a Sunday services programme, summer and vacation camps.

The General Secretary of the Association is Miss Margaret Stewart.

#### THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Roman Catholic Church in Jamaica is operating under the auspices of the American division of the Church. Its missionaries are all Americans, and it is educating its Jamaican ministry in the United States. Many of the Roman Catholic missionaries have had very thorough training in the social sciences and economics.

There are 86 Roman Catholic churches listed in the *Jamaica Blue Book for 1938*; there are 35 priests, 27,000 members, and 55,000 adherents of whom nearly one-half reside in the Kingston area. A study of ecclesiastical statistics over the past ten years points to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is growing more rapidly than any of the principal church groups in the island.

In addition to the 35 priests of the Church and 3 lay brothers, there are 4 communities of sisters engaged in teaching, in hospitals, or in other social work. These are the Sisters of Mercy with 57 members, the Sisters of St. Francis, 47 in number, the Sisters of St. Dominic with 19 members, and the Sisters of St. Francis of Perpetual Help with 21 members. These 144 Sisters provide a large and well-trained personnel for the extensive institutional work of the Church of Jamaica. Forty-three elementary schools, 7 secondary schools, 2 industrial schools, 1 training school, 2 orphanages, 1 hospital, and 1 leper asylum are conducted by the Roman Catholic Church.

The foreign missionaries are all members of the Order of the Society of Jesus.

## CHAPTER III

### OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

IN EXAMINING the position of the Churches of Jamaica in relation to their environment and in attempting to estimate their prospects of growth, it is necessary to consider, on the one hand, the obstacles which obstruct their progress and, on the other, the resources which are at their command.

The economic and social problems of the Christian community cannot be considered apart from the whole economic and social organization of the larger community of which it is a part. The prosperity of the Church rises and falls with sugar prices, with the incidence of Panama Disease and Leaf Spot among the banana plantations, and with the market conditions upon which these exports depend. It is important that church leaders have clearly in mind the nature and strength of these obstacles with which the Church must cope and also realize the resources and facilities which are available for overcoming them.

Obstacles to the progress of the Church may be divided into three groups: economic, social, and spiritual, and they will be dealt with in this order.

Jamaica is less subject to the limitations and effects of a one-crop economy than most countries of the West Indies, for, unlike many of its neighbouring lands, Jamaican exports are divided into two main groups—bananas and sugar. These two products, together with the rum derived from sugar, made up 76.275 per cent. of the island's exports during the four-year period from 1934 to 1937. Of this total, the banana trade accounted for 55.2 per cent. and the sugar industry 21.07 per cent. Thus Jamaica presents a somewhat different economic pattern from that of the majority of West Indian countries where sugar is the predominant export crop.<sup>1</sup>

1. *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1939* (Jamaica: The Government Printing Office, Kingston), p. 185.

*A Table Showing Percentage Value of Various Exports  
to the Total Exports*

<i>Product</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>1935</i>	<i>1936</i>	<i>1937</i>
Bananas . . . .	54.5	59.1	51.9	55.3
Sugar, unrefined . .	14.7	15.2	17.2	18.0
Rum . . . .	4.4	4.1	5.2	5.5
Pimento . . . .	3.2	2.2	3.8	3.1
Coffee . . . .	5.5	4.2	4.3	3.0
Coconut and Copra. .	3.2	2.5	2.0	2.0
Cocoa . . . .	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.6
Logwood extracts .	2.6	2.3	2.1	1.6
Logwood . . . .	1.1	1.2	.9	1.1
Ginger . . . .	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.5
Grapefruit . . . .	2.6	1.3	1.9	.9
Tobacco, cigars . .	.6	.6	.5	.4
Other products . .	4.1	4.1	7.0	6.0

Both the banana and sugar industries subject their employees to peculiar and dangerous economic limitations. The production of sugar is in alternate cycles of employment and rest—known respectively as the grinding season and the dead season. In the modern mills, sugar-making can be most profitably carried on if the processes continue both day and night from start to finish without interrupting the cutting, grinding, and bagging of the crop. Under present conditions in Jamaica, this calls for a maximum labour force during a period of only eighty to one hundred days of full operation. For the mill hands, such tasks as cleaning, repairing, and overhauling mill machinery extend this period by two or three months and give them at most five months of full wages. However, for the field workers, who represent seven-eighths of the entire sugar labour force, full time employment is limited to two and one-half to three and one-half months. Hence, this major island industry upon which 100,000 Jamaicans depend provides employment for only one-fourth to one-half of the year, and its workers are compelled to shift for themselves during the balance of the twelve months. Such alternating seasons of intense activity and idleness, of good wages and of no regular income, are demoralizing to the individual and the community and form an inadequate economic foundation for the support of the Church.

The banana industry is in a very different position from that of sugar. Unlike sugar production, bananas may be grown advan-

tageously by the small planter on terrain and in quantities which would be unprofitable for sugar cultivation. With the overproduction and consequent slump in world sugar prices of the early thirties, the industry was curtailed, and cane lands were extensively planted with banana trees. The young plantations had hardly begun to yield when the double blight of Panama Disease and Leaf Spot swept the island and ruined the banana trade in many districts. These diseases have brought economic disaster and unemployment to thousands of farmers and farm labourers. Having once rooted out his cane and planted banana trees, it is a serious matter for the farmer to reverse the process. A majority of them take their losses, hang on to their damaged trees, treating them chemically as well as they can, and hope for an improvement in their condition.

#### LOSS OF TIME

A serious economic obstacle to the progress of the Church and to the advancement of the country is the immense loss of time occasioned not only by the seasonal unemployment referred to above but also by the working habits of the Jamaican. The usual working week throughout many parts of the island is four and one-half days—or from Monday morning until Friday noon. In a number of projects, whose labour problems we studied, four and even three and one-half days of work were all that employers could depend upon from their day labourers. Friday is the usual payday, and it is a custom of the worker to take the afternoon off, put on his best clothing, and appear at the company's office to receive his pay. Workers who live at a distance walk home on Friday afternoons to spend the weekend with their families and do not turn up again for work until Monday noon. Some of these men and women use the long weekend at home for cultivating their own land or for carrying on subsidiary occupations, but a majority spend the holidays loafing. The Jamaican has found that wages from three or four days of regular work enable him to subsist, and this seems to satisfy him.

The loss of so much working time of a large part of the population is one of the greatest economic handicaps that Jamaica is experiencing, and this will become increasingly true as the nation begins to compete with the outside world.



An estate owner in St. Thomas Parish, in speaking of the working habits of his two hundred wage earners, said:

They have no continuity in their work. A man will work ten hours and earn five bob a day for several months and then disappear for a couple of months. No one is interested in bonuses or over-time pay. They are spasmodic, unreliable workers.

On another estate, the manager described the working schedule of his men as follows:

On Monday, the worker comes and "marks out" his work for the week. Tuesday, he does about five hours of work. Wednesday, he does another five hours of work. Thursday, he does another five hours of work. Friday, he dresses up and comes to draw his pay. On Saturday and Sunday, he loafs around. The week's result is fifteen hours of work.

The proprietor of one of the largest sugar estates in Jamaica in St. James Parish said:

We employ 1,800 to 2,000 workers, many of whom I have known for forty years. Except for those who work in the mill, they live away from the estate in neighboring villages or on small land holdings of their own which they cultivate in addition to their work on the estate. Four days a week is about all the labour we can get from them. Sometimes they put their own work first, and we suffer from it. They do not seem to be interested in earning more money. When I raised the wages of my women workers, in the hope of getting five days a week of work from them, they declined to do a bit more than before. They lack discipline, steady habits, and incentive.

In the Parish of St. Mary, the owner of 2,500 acres planted to bananas, coconuts, and sugarcane employs 150 men. A majority of his workers live nearby on small holdings which they partly cultivate. His single men and seasonal workers live in barracks which he provides. Most of the labour is task work—so many shillings for planting a square of peas or forking a square of caneland, etc. The men earn good wages—three to five shillings a day—but they only work three to three and one-half days and loaf around the other half of the week. They work harder at the task work than at regular labour but have no ambition to increase the number of hours, days, or the pace of their work.

## LAND UTILIZATION

Another serious obstacle to the progress of the Jamaican people is their non-productive relationship to the land. Although there is no such large-scale neglect of cultivation as exists among the sugar workers of Cuba, it is still true that the average Jamaican rural and town dweller with access to a plot of ground is content with extracting a very small part of its potential resources.

An illustration of this is the rural community at Bull Bay, fourteen miles east of Kingston, where a hurricane had destroyed the gardens of the people. Government had opened a swamp clearing project as a relief measure which gave employment to 170 men of this community. The project was to be closed from lack of funds. The community sent a delegation to appeal to Government for the extension of the project. However, during the eighteen months of government assistance, the people had neither remade their gardens nor cultivated the tracts of good land which had been assigned to them two miles back in the hills for sustenance farming. They had used up their income from the relief project, had not touched the soil, had laid by no savings, were destitute and in as bad a condition as they had been before Government helped them.

In this connection, it will be of interest to quote the report of the Commission appointed by the Foreign Policy Association, Inc. of New York to study the economic problems of Cuba. The report finds that the typical rural Cuban family has an average income of \$251, of which \$156 is spent for food alone.

If they had produced \$100 more food, which they could have done very easily on the land at their disposal during the dead season, they could have raised their standard of living to that of the middle classes. . . .<sup>2</sup>

We were told by agricultural officers in Jamaica that a similar statement would be true of great numbers of rural dwellers in their island.

## DEPENDENCE ON STAPLE IMPORTS

The absence of large-scale manufacturing in Jamaica is another obstacle to economic progress and the growth of a stable society.

2. Commission on Cuban Affairs, *Problems of the New Cuba* (New York: Foreign Policy Assn., 1935), p. 93.

Jamaica is importing nearly all of the manufactured products and many of the staple food commodities she consumes.<sup>3</sup>

<i>Jamaican Imports (1937)</i>	<i>Value in Sterling</i>
Boots and shoes . . . . .	235,318
Fish, Dried . . . . .	189,364
Rice . . . . .	171,023
Flour, wheat, rye . . . . .	398,379
Milk, Condensed . . . . .	119,258
Tobacco . . . . .	17,161
Wood, timber . . . . .	139,949

Nearly all of these are commodities now imported into Jamaica which could be raised or manufactured in the island.

During the five-year period, from 1932 to 1937, Jamaica imported goods valued at 974,405 pounds sterling per year in excess of the entire value of her exports. This constant draining of the wealth of the colony is not only an extremely serious but an unnecessary loss. Jamaican cattle abound and could furnish an unfailing supply of leather and milk products. The adjacent seas are teeming with fish which could be caught and dried to take the place of the 189,000 pounds sterling cost of the imported article. Large sections of the island are admirably suited to rice cultivation, while certain varieties of wheat and rye can be raised in the uplands, and tobacco is a natural Jamaican product.

#### THE SOCIAL HERITAGE

Prominent among the social barriers to progress in Jamaica, and to the Church in particular, is the lack of a social and cultural tradition which is passed on as the heritage of one generation to the next. This heritage is of such a familiar and intimate nature to the Anglo-Saxon that he is hardly conscious of it. It is embodied in forms of speech, in manners, in social and civic behaviour, in the common law, in loyalties and ideologies. It is in this realm of heritages that the masses of Jamaican society are poverty-stricken. Although separated by only one hundred and fifty to two hundred years from their African background, with its highly organized tribal discipline and social sanctions, the circumstances of their enslavement and their subsequent emanci-

3. *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1939* (Jamaica: The Government Printing Office, Kingston), pp. 186-191.

pation have caused the African heritage largely to disappear as a controlling force in the social behaviour of the Jamaican. On the other hand, the world of English law and of Christian discipline and sanctions to which he has been introduced has been imposed upon him without his choice and has not as yet become his very own.

In the early days of emancipation, the Church was the black man's champion and friend, and it was natural that he was drawn to it and accepted its teachings and way of life. There was no other source from which he could get help in adjusting to the new freedom into which he had entered. The Church, through its religious teachings and its system of schools, set up moral standards relating to the home, marriage, the family, rights of private property, the sanctity of one's word, and personal relationships. But these new sanctions which had been refined through centuries of Christian and Anglo-Saxon heritages were difficult to domicile in a slave society, or, later, in the practice of the emancipated Jamaican. The hut of the freed slave became his home, his woman became his married wife, the plot on which he formerly "squatted" became his property, but the transfer of the values implied by such words as home, wife, husband, child, family, farm, and property was a slow and painful process. This transfer of values was all the more difficult because of the deep poverty in which a majority of Jamaicans lived, the lack of privacy and amenities in the one- and two-room huts or the barracks which sheltered the families of the workers, and the absence of a middle class which normally would have served to initiate the depressed groups into some of the amenities of English life.

#### THE WEAKNESS OF THE JAMAICAN HOME

A transient observer of the social and economic problems of the Jamaican churches and society is struck by the weakness of the home in the island's social structure which Church and Government alike are trying to strengthen. This institution—as it is known in older Christian societies—is practically non-existent among great masses of Jamaicans.

A majority of the children of Jamaica lack any home life, training, discipline, and incentive to higher moral, physical, social, or ethical standards. The problem not only exists where the mother



and children are deserted by the father but is present in many of the lower-class homes where the pattern of family life is kept.

The houses of a majority of rural Jamaicans are one-room or, at most, two-room huts in which families of six to ten people live in the closest intimacy. There is no privacy, no provision for orderly storing of personal or family possessions. There is little resembling a day's schedule with regular meal hours and division of labour. In many of these homes the family does not sit at a table to eat together, but food is picked up and munched by the children while standing or running about the yard. When darkness comes, the lack of lamps and kerosene makes reading and social activity out of the question. Adults and younger children go to bed, while the older boys and girls roam about the neighbourhood in the dark. The visitor in the rural areas of Jamaica receives a lasting impression of the darkness, amounting to a blackout, in the tiny hamlets, of stumbling pedestrians in the unlighted streets, and the absence of lights in the huts.

A major reason for the slow progress of the Church in overcoming the many outstanding social evils in the island is that the home, which is the cornerstone of a Christian civilization, is lacking. The Church has gathered to itself a large part of the regularly established families of the island. However, a majority of the population belongs to irregularly constituted homes in which promiscuity and desertion are present. These people will remain permanently outside of church influence until Church and Government build a new foundation for Jamaican society which is home-centred.

#### ILLEGITIMACY

Under such circumstances it is not surprising to learn that the ratio of illegitimacy in Jamaica is 71.6 per cent.—one of the highest of all lands where accurate records are kept. This problem is generally acknowledged to be one of the foremost social handicaps of the island and is a social condition which baffles the Church, Government, education, and public opinion in Jamaica. No one of these influences nor all combined seem to be able to make appreciable headway in checking the evil. Indeed, there are not a few indications to point to the fact that the incidence of illegitimacy is on the increase.

In the annual report of the Registrar General of Births for the ten-year period, 1928 to 1937, a slight increase is shown in the incidence of illegitimate births per hundred population in the second half of this period. From 1928 to 1932 there was an average of 71.63 per cent. of illegitimate births and from 1932 to 1937 the rate had increased to 71.74 per cent.

In all fairness, however, it must be pointed out that, with the exception of Haiti, Jamaica has approximately the largest proportion of pure African stock of any country in the Western Hemisphere, and, at the same time, the smallest percentage of white and mixed blood. The backwardness in the moral and social standards of the Negro masses of Jamaica is explained in part by the absence of contact with a large *mestizo* and white population, as in the case of the Negroes of Cuba and Puerto Rico. (The Negroes of Cuba form only 27 per cent. and in Puerto Rico 23 per cent. of the population.)

The Secretary of the Board of Supervision states that the incidence of illegitimacy among the lower classes is much higher than the average for the whole population. Officers of the Salvation Army estimate that 90 per cent. of the infants of the depressed classes among whom they work are born out of wedlock.

Family life, as known in England or America, hardly exists among the masses in Jamaica, for in these casual unions the great majority of the fathers take no responsibility for the support of the child and leave the woman until the next man makes her pregnant, and she is passed on from man to man, but with all the children to support. Mothers who have no man to aid them constantly come to us to get help for their children. With this escape from the responsibilities of fatherhood, children are being born in numbers far beyond the power of the community to care for them.

In a study of 304 mothers with children who were helped in 1938, the Salvation Army found that:

*Percentage*

- 21    were married mothers.
- 25    were women living in permanent concubinage with one man.
- 25    were women who had lost touch with the children's father.
- 50    had children who were the result of promiscuity.

The Salvation Army found 260 fathers of abandoned children and appealed to them for help in the support of their offspring. Of these fathers:

*Percentage*

- 25.4 paid fairly regularly toward the support of their offspring.
- 50 of the fathers considered that the mother alone was responsible.
- 25 considered the Government responsible for the support of the child.
- 25 considered that they were responsible for the support of their own children.

In *Manchester Parish* the returns from a questionnaire study made by the Salvation Army revealed that in a better class district:

*Percentage*

- 50 of the unions were married.
- 25 of the unions were cohabiting.
- 25 of the unions were promiscuous.

In *St. Catherine* similarly:

*Percentage*

- 30 of the unions were married.
- 30 of the unions were cohabiting.
- 40 of the unions were promiscuous.

In *St. Mary*:

*Percentage*

- 40 of the unions were married.
- 20 of the unions were cohabiting.
- 40 of the unions were promiscuous.

The average returns for these three typical parishes indicate that among the people of the better-class districts (above the status of day labourers):

*Percentage*

- 40 of the unions were married.
- 25 of the unions were cohabiting.
- 35 of the unions were promiscuous.

The chief reason given for desertion by lower-class fathers is

the fear that marriage exempts a woman from any manual labour. The man claims that he cannot afford a wife unless she will work beside him in the field. Most girls of the lower class cannot cook, keep house, or sew and can only wash. Under these limitations, the man sees a wife as a liability rather than an asset.

A Salvation Army officer in discussing this problem said:

I have known several cases where a minister has persuaded common-law partners (where there has been a permanent relationship) to be married, and subsequently the home was broken up in less than a year. In St. Elizabeth's Parish most of the children of deserted mothers are supported by their mothers or their grandparents. I know of a case, however, of a woman with five children by five different men who lived well on the money she regularly collected from all five. However, 75 per cent. of the men evade any support whatsoever by moving about from parish to parish. There are cases that have come to our attention of fathers with as many as 38 children, mostly by different women, and one man claimed to have had 83 children and not to be supporting any of them.

The Interim Report of the Government Standing Committee upon "The Prevalency of Concubinage and the High Rate of Illegitimacy in Jamaica" gives the following summary of reasons for the prevalency of concubinage and illegitimacy:

1. The mode of life: serious overcrowding and children sharing the parent's bedroom early in life which familiarizes them with sex.
2. Lack of a restraining public opinion. No stigma is attached to the parents of an illegitimate child.
3. Idleness and lack of wholesome interests and healthy recreation for the masses centres attention upon the gratification of sex.
4. Lack of will-power to practise self-restraint.
5. The general attitude of irresponsibility for social or personal conduct and relationships.
6. False pride and economic pressure prevent many from marrying who cannot afford the expense and display of a wedding.
7. Companionate marriage postpones and often precludes the marriage ceremony.
8. Fear, lest marriage will alter the behaviour of wife or



husband. On the one hand, the woman dreads to be completely in the man's power; and, on the other hand, the man resents being left with the complete support of the woman.

9. Lack of self-respect.
10. Ignorance of the provision of existing Maintenance Laws which require a father to support his own children as well as the children of his common-law wife.
11. The supposition by the man that a woman behaves better and works more faithfully when not a man's wife; and by the woman that a man is more faithful and treats her better when she is his concubine.

The father escapes the Maintenance Law payments by leaving the parish where the order is served on him and keeps changing his address. The mother fruitlessly travels to the last court which issues the summons. After several attempts she gives up and finds another man who gives her another illegitimate child and the whole process is repeated.

The head matron of the Kingston Jubilee Maternity Hospital supplied the following figures for the year 1938:

Married women patients . . . . .	801
Unmarried women patients . . . . .	2,191
Legitimate births . . . . .	542
Illegitimate births . . . . .	1,849

The matron believes that the chief reason for this high ratio of illegitimate births is the ignorance of the younger girls. "They have no vision of the future at all—of hardships, breakdown of health, etc. None of these things occurs to them. There is a great need for adequate training, teaching, and advice."

It is clear from the records just examined that 71.6 per cent. illegitimacy does not indicate 71.6 per cent. promiscuity among Jamaican unions. The common-law marriages often represent a high degree of faithfulness between parents. There are great numbers of homes in Jamaica in which for economic reasons, pride, or prejudice, the parents have not married but have lived together with great faithfulness, have developed a solid family life, and have reared large families of children. Not infrequently such mature couples, after twenty-five years, have been induced to marry by their children and have been attended at the wedding

ceremony by bridesmaid or best man selected from among their sons and daughters.

A pastor, in speaking of illegitimacy in relation to the Church, said:

The main problem of the Church is concubinage. Such people have shut themselves off from all that is worthwhile so that the Church cannot reach them effectively nor can it properly help them. The problem is economic as well as spiritual. In talking with such a couple, the man said: "We have long wished to change this life, but we are not able to do so. I need a pair of shoes and suit of clothing in which to get married but cannot afford them."

I have seen men who wanted to get married trying for fifteen years to get together enough money to clothe themselves and their families for a wedding. Such parents may be living in a cane trash hut along with ten children—all sleeping on the damp earth. What can the Church do to help such people?

Although illegitimacy is a major obstacle to the progress of the Church in Jamaica, it is not a religious problem alone. It challenges both the state and the community. The vast number of fatherless, virtually helpless, families which result from the man's repudiation of responsibility for the support of his children creates widespread economic distress and pushes a very large part of the population deep into poverty and pauperism. To rear great numbers of children without a semblance of home life nor parental discipline results in their abnormal and thwarted development. Staggering burdens are placed upon tax payers by the many men who evade the support of their families. The poor houses, reformatories, prisons, and hospitals are filled with human wreckage resulting from an untrained, undisciplined, under-nourished younger generation.

A devastating result of promiscuity is the repudiation of responsibility which it fosters. A considerable proportion of Jamaican men avoid their natural and legal family responsibilities and drift about the island seeking casual opportunities of work, having temporary relationships with women whom they abandon, avoiding the summonses of parish courts, refusing to establish homes and to become dependable citizens. From every point of view these men constitute a loss and a menace to society.

## INADEQUATE SCHOOLING AND ILLITERACY

The high incidence of illiteracy is another handicap which retards the progress of society and the growth of churches in Jamaica. Literacy in the island increased from 26.18 per cent. in 1894 to 40.6 per cent. in 1911, and is now estimated at 50 per cent.<sup>4</sup> However, every second person in the island can neither read nor write, and in the more remote rural areas the ratio becomes very much worse. In 1938, there was a total of 676 schools in Jamaica, of which 656 were of elementary grade. Of this total, 173, or 25.6 per cent. were Government schools, and 503 or 74.4 per cent. were assisted schools—the great majority operated by churches.

The enrolment of these 676 schools in 1938 was 163,732 pupils, comprising approximately only half of the children of school age, and the average daily attendance at school for the year was 93,919, or only 57.36 per cent. of the enrolment. These 93,919 children who were in school on an average day represented only 29 per cent. of the children of school age on the island.

These figures indicate that, next to the inadequate school facilities, the problem of non-attendance is the most serious obstacle to the growth of literacy. The problem is definitely accentuated in the rural districts. The worst attendance occurs on Fridays, when custom requires many of the children to assist their parents on their own garden plots. Monday is also a bad day, so that, even when the weather is fair, there is a reasonably good attendance on only three days of the week. Attendance also varies with the working seasons, rising to a peak in February and sinking to a minimum in December. Such conditions make the task of the teacher most difficult and seriously retard the progress of the pupils.

The chief causes of irregular attendance are:

1. Many children are obliged to travel long distances over difficult mountain terrain to attend school.
2. In seasons of heavy rain, access to schools is often barred by swollen rivers and flooded roads. Waterproofs and umbrellas are almost unknown and parents will not send their children to school in wet weather for fear of colds and fevers.

4. The statistics and information of this section may be found in the *Annual General Report of Jamaica, Report of the Department of Education, 1938*, Chapter IV.

3. In some sections at certain seasons, children are very generally employed picking coffee, working on sugar and on other estates or doing odd jobs.
4. The high ratio of illegitimacy renders parental control very slight and makes it difficult to fasten responsibility for a particular child upon a parent.
5. Some areas are liable to drought and scarcity of food. Parents are reluctant to send a child a long distance to school without food.
6. Children are taken away from school on Fridays to assist their parents in collecting and transporting ground provisions for sale at the Saturday markets.
7. Children very often have only one presentable suit or dress, and they are consequently kept at home when this is being washed.

Primary education has to cope with another serious factor. Pupils drop out in the upper standards to such an extent that only 7.91 per cent. of the children in attendance reach the sixth standard. A majority leave school before the fourth standard. This depletion throws the heavy responsibility of creating a literate population upon the first three years of elementary school. The loss of students from the higher standards is attributed to discouragement resulting from irregular attendance, early entrance into wage earning occupations, inadequate staffing, indifferent teaching, no encouragement in home study, poor equipment, malnutrition, lack of facilities and of vitality in the curriculum.

Another serious deterrent to progress in the schools is the cost of books and writing materials. This cost is such that low wage earners cannot furnish all their school-attending children with the books and materials needed. Still another serious obstacle in the way of creating literacy is the absence of interesting reading material suited to the capacity of third and fourth standard pupils. In many rural homes there are no books or papers adapted for continuing the interest or exercising the limited reading capacity of the child, the door of whose mind has been set ajar through practice with the school primer. Where the parents



themselves are illiterate, the likelihood that the child who has left school to earn a wage will lapse into illiteracy is greatly increased.

#### A CHURCH FOR THE MIDDLE CLASSES

A practical barrier to the growth of the Church in Jamaica is its tradition of respectability and exclusiveness as an institution. A large proportion of the families living a normal family life are enrolled in the Churches. On the Sabbath they don their best clothes and appear in Church with their children neatly washed and dressed. It is an exception to see a barefooted Jamaican in Church. The poorest people, who are without decent clothing and whose children are shoeless and ragged, keep away from the long-established Churches. Also automatically excluded are the people living in common-law or promiscuous relationship and the many young mothers whose illegitimate children have been abandoned by the father. Still others are prevented from attending church because they know they will be expected to contribute to the collection. The standards of behaviour, appearance, discipline, and respectability which the Church of Christ inculcates tend to repel the great masses of Jamaicans and cut them off from the spiritual, social, and cultural influences of church fellowship.

The irresponsible religious sects are not under a similar handicap. Their places of worship and their order of service are simpler. They meet the people on their own level; offer a less exacting discipline; provide for the expression of emotions; and seldom urge church contributions upon their followers.

#### MULTIPLICITY OF CHURCHES

The multiplicity of church denominations and the overlapping of their work is a basic obstacle to the growth of the Christian movement in Jamaica. A very large number of church leaders and laymen are concerned with this problem. Jamaica is, or has been, well evangelized. Several strong church groups and missions, well supplied with men and funds, have worked faithfully for many generations in this small island with its limited population. Churches and chapels have been provided in almost every valley and almost every hamlet of the island. While recently a modern paganism has arisen, with a recrudescence of African

superstitions, Jamaica is probably better churched and 'Christianized' than some parts of the world more commonly known as 'Christian.' With the growth of population through the years, chapels of various denominations have appeared in communities already long occupied by one or more historic Churches.

The problem of over-churching is present in the towns as well as in the rural hamlets. In Savanna-la-Mar, a parochial centre of 3,500 inhabitants, there are nineteen different denominational sects and twenty church buildings—several of which are of stately dimensions. The list of churches and church groups in this town is a formidable one: Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Church of God, Salvation Army, Seventh-Day Adventist, Plymouth Brethren, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Millenium Dawn, Holiness, Samuels, Gospel Trumpeters, International Bible Students, and three revivalist groups. The five churches, first named, enrol about three-quarters of the Christians of the city. The Anglican Church alone has five hundred members. The seats in these twenty church buildings would accommodate far more than the whole population of Savanna-la-Mar, and it is evident that a small fraction of the church groups could reasonably care for the religious needs of this little town.

Falmouth, the capital of Trelawney Parish, once a banana shipping centre of importance, is now a dead little port with 2,500 people. Stately buildings—a town hall, court-house, warehouses, churches, and residences—reveal the former importance of the place. Here are five imposing church buildings—Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic. All five churches are declining in membership, attendance, and in church supporting power. The Anglican, Roman Catholic, and one Free Church are all that could be supported by the residents of Falmouth and these three churches could very adequately minister to the whole town.

Three to five denominational church buildings may be seen in great numbers of rural villages and hamlets, which have, at most, a few hundred people. None of them has a congregation strong enough to support a resident pastor. Each church is a mission point or circuit charge which is visited once or twice a month by the minister of some distant and stronger church. Several sectarian pastors converge on horseback from different directions to

the same isolated rural community to preach to the few believers in their individual charge. In a majority of these country centres one church and one pastor could minister to the whole Protestant population, and the community would have the uninterrupted ministry of a resident pastor whom they could support with their pooled resources. Such small isolated congregations, visited once or twice a month on Sunday, are without the regular pastoral services of a minister. Each visiting pastor has to hurry on after a brief stop to reach one or more other rural charges before the Sabbath closes, so none of the personal problems of the people of his various charges are adequately dealt with. Such an intermittent ministry results in spiritual stagnation and retarded church growth in wide areas of the island.

This was emphasized by a minister in Clarendon Parish:

A minister is too often a visitor to a rural community where four or five other ministers are also visitors. No one pastor can go into such a community and build a real church because he has no more than a superficial hold upon a small fraction of the people.

#### IRRESPONSIBLE SECTS

The dilemma of such a ministry is aggravated by the activities of the various irresponsible and highly emotional religious sects which are increasing throughout Jamaica and are steadily drawing members from the old established Churches in the towns. The solidarity of the congregations and the influence of the resident pastor in the towns act as deterrents to this loss of members, but in small rural communities where the church people are separated into weak sectarian groups without local leadership the loss is very serious.

The presence of many irresponsible and emotional religious groups in the island is one of the most baffling problems of the Church. This subject was discussed in all but a few of the two hundred interviews we held in Jamaica.

In a group discussion at Montego Bay, the following points were brought out:

The influence of these irresponsible sects must be fearlessly faced. They are not only one of the greatest dangers to the Church but a peril to Government, for they tend to undermine every effort to build a stable society. The Jamaican people are highly emotional,

and these sects offer natural channels for the expression of their emotions. Many of the sects are disloyal to the Government and encourage stealing, teach against payment of taxes and giving an honest return for a day's wage, etc. They are undermining the influence of the pastors by telling their followers that a "church is a 'racket,' the pastors are 'shams,' and that it is a waste of money to support them." Some of these sects encourage their people to shout and dance all night, so that they are ill next day. Monday is a notoriously light day in factories and on estates because of the aftermath of these meetings. The health and class attendance of the school children are widely affected from their attendance at these exciting night meetings.

There was divided opinion upon the attitude which the Church should take toward these irresponsible sects. One position was that the Church must recognize the presence of such emotions; that it should try to gather the lost members and minister to their basic needs; that the church leaders must study this emotional trend and adapt their methods with it in mind; and, finally, that the Church must try to win the leaders of these sects.

Another student of this trend said:

Pocomania<sup>5</sup> derives from a suppression of emotion. It is a reaction from cold, formal religion. The Jamaican must express himself in motion and rhythm. Previously, the Church could control the Jamaican. As long as the Negro respected the white man he repressed these things, but now he is disillusioned with the white man and the Church, and he is doing what he wants to do.

The white youth have their outlets for feelings but the black lower group do not. This expression of the inmost self of the people is bound to come out. The Jamaican cannot express himself fully in church, so he is driven out of the church to reveal his inner self.

On the other hand, a prominent Parish official believed that a study of these emotions was not needed, and that the Church should not encourage their expression, for the Church had been struggling for two hundred years to repress the emotions of the Jamaican. "The Church is dealing with undisciplined child-adults who cannot stand up to Christian discipline, and therefore they go over to the irresponsible sects."

5. A type of emotional religious expression derived from the African myal cult, see pp. 44-47.



A pastor, in discussing this subject, said:

Our sober and unemotional type of service cannot compete with the drumming, dancing, and emotionalism of these sects. However, there is a widespread tendency for the members to lose faith in these leaders, and the groups soon begin to disintegrate. After the leaders go away, our old, lost members are ashamed to come back to us.

The popular craze for new forms of religion has grown markedly in the last twenty-five years. Our people are very responsive to such activities and are splitting up into many little churches which disorganize discipline, faith, and social and Christian solidarity. In this way, the Christian movement in Jamaica is steadily losing ground.

The indictment brought against the irresponsible sects is a heavy one. It includes charges of teaching disobedience to the Government, non-payment of taxes, and the futility of education. They are said to encourage stealing and immoral relations, incite to hatred and fear, attack the established churches, spread superstition, and promote insanity among their followers. They tell their members they may live as they like, responsible to themselves alone.

The superintendent of one of the smaller groups of Churches said:

Jamaica is not a mission field in the sense of being unevangelized. The island is covered extensively with churches, and Christian teaching is widespread, but intensively it is still an undeveloped and very needy field. The people are saturated with "half-baked" ideas of Christianity mixed hopelessly with the hang-over of their African superstitions and practices. Fanatical uneducated sects are eating into the heart of the Church.

A pastor from Clarendon Parish told how competing church bodies were splitting the population into competitive groups:

We older churches have not as yet devised a programme or method to hold our people from going over to these sects. They use handclapping, stamping, cymbals, and dancing and rely upon the elemental instinct of rhythm as an outlet for the pent-up emotions and cravings of the people.

The people, in past years, provided their own social entertainment and social outlets such as the "tea meeting." A woman was

chosen as the veiled queen for the occasion, and one penny was charged for the privilege of "cake-walking" up to the table to lift the veil and see the lady's face. The people also had folk story contests and dancing competitions staged in bough booths. These simple festivities were eventually ridiculed, and they have now disappeared. The same sort of people who enjoyed them are now found in the pocomania and revival meetings. Here, they get the excitement and emotional release which they crave and which the older churches do not provide.

The superintendent of a group of churches, who is also a Justice of the Peace in his district, made this observation from the standpoint of the health and sanity of the community:

The people crowd into these meetings and dance and shout, roll on the ground, and work themselves into a frenzy until the small hours of the morning. The next day they are worn out and cannot properly work. The children are too sleepy to keep awake in school or do not attend. Pocomania is wearing down the minds and constitutions of its devotees. It is putting many people into the insane asylums. As Justice of the Peace, I co-operate with the local health officer in committing an average of three persons a week to the mental asylum. The official record of at least one-half of these cases shows that the mental condition has been induced or aggravated by religious excitement. The borderline between religion and superstition is narrow. If people are not religious they will be superstitious, and superstition opens the door of the mind to many types of mental disorder.

#### THE AFRICAN PSYCHIC HERITAGE

In his *Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica*, Dr. Joseph J. Williams, S.J. identifies the modern practices of myalism (pocomania) and obeah with the old religious dance and ritual of the Ashanti race in West Africa and with the Ashanti practice of witchcraft. He says:

. . . Strictly speaking, myalism, the direct antithesis of obeah, is the residue of the old religious dance of the Ashanti, just as obeah itself is the continuation of the Ashanti witchcraft. Thus obeah is secretive, malicious, and has gradually taken on a form of devil-worship. Myalism, on the contrary, is practised in the open. It is beneficent in its purposes, and it has developed into modern revivalism in Jamaica. In practice, however, the same individual is now frequently an obeah-man by night and a myal-man by day when

he "digs up" the very obeah which he has planted while exercising the other rôle.<sup>6</sup>

The distinction between myalism and obeah was recognized by the early planters. Both obeah witches and myal priests were brought to Jamaica in the slave trade, and the slaves observed a distinction between the two. The myal-man cured those whom the obeah-man injured. However, assemblies of slaves with their dances which were led by the myal priests were proscribed by the early Jamaican Government as potential sources of racial uprisings. This resulted in the banning of the African dances, and with them the myal-man disappeared as open leader of his people and went underground where he secretly practised his rites. This brought him into conflict with the obeah-man, whose malignant work he claimed the power to overcome.

Meanwhile, as a precaution against complete proscription, the Ashanti *okomfo* (priest) began to further disguise what was left of the old religious rites under cover of one of the dances that were permissible in the local amusements, until it was gradually appropriated to his own purposes. This dance in its adapted form became known to the Whites as the myal-dance. . . .

This subtle appropriation of an alien dance completely disguised the true purposes of the *okomfo* as far as the Planters were concerned, but as a consequence the *okomfo* himself gradually lost his identity until he became known to the Whites as myal-man, or leader in the myal-dance.<sup>7</sup>

When the powers of the priests who by Ashanti custom combatted the obeah sorcerer as a matter of principle were limited by law, the powers of the obeah-man, largely uncontrolled, became a social menace of serious proportions in Jamaica.

To a limited extent Christianity began to exercise a restraining and corrective influence on the general fear of the powers of darkness in which the Jamaican lived. But among the great numbers living outside of the active influence of the Church, as well as with many Jamaicans upon the church rolls, obeah continued to exert a profound, subtle, and baleful influence. By proscribing the old Ashanti ritual, incantations, and dances, the Jamaican

6. Joseph J. Williams, *Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica* (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1934), p. 59.

7. *Idem.*, p. 72.

Negro was deprived of all contact with his minor and beneficent deities and the help of his priestly class in overcoming the organized evil of witchcraft, and for a very long period he has been open to the uncombatted influence of these malignant powers represented by obeah. Although Christianity has to some extent modified this influence, it persists with a stubbornness that defies the Church, the courts, and the schools, and it stands today as one of the formidable obstacles in the path of the Jamaican community and the Jamaican Church.

Jamaican opinion on obeah is of interest. A veteran pastor said:

Obeah is undermining the working habits, discipline, and sanity of thousands. It is a short cut to success in scores of situations for all kinds of people. They pay for the obeah magic to help them in sales, in getting a job, in passing an examination, in success in love, in conquering a rival or in paying off a grudge. The evil eye is put upon people whom they would harm, and the knowledge of this often undermines the health and sanity of the people. Obeah has an active hold inside our churches. Our members know it is against our rules. We preach against it and warn our members, and when they persist we suspend them, but in spite of this they consult the obeah-man on the sly. One great difficulty is that the obeah-man confuses his magic with religion. He cleverly uses the Bible in his utterances and predictions and repeats Christian formulae as a species of magic.

The two main evils facing our Church today are sexual immorality and witchcraft. These, rather than drinking or gambling, are our greatest enemies.

A member of my church, an estate labourer, had a vision that he was to heal people. He announced the fact and in a few days was doing a thriving business. He claimed to know the ailment of a patient without asking questions. The patient placed a sixpence in a bowl of clear water. The obeah-man opened the Bible, read a passage, looked intently at the patient and prescribed a remedy, usually an herbal concoction. He used the powdered root of a certain tree with remarkable results and made many cures.

Obeah's worst aspect is that it is used for casting spells on others and breaking spells cast by others. Many of our members are mixed up with it and are lost to the Church.

Obeah is present in great strength after two hundred years of church work, schooling, and English law in Jamaica. Its illegal



transactions are carried on under cover. Its devotees include even highly educated Jamaicans, leaders in society, and men in high positions. In Kingston, the local papers carry prominent advertisements with the pictures of obeah-men under the caption of "Herbalists" who announce that they "can cure any ill in every relationship of life." The street in front of the offices of one of these men is at times lined with the parked automobiles of upper-class Jamaicans.

There is something here that presents a fourth dimension to the white man's world. Something that eludes his own instincts, rationalization, and methods of control. This leads white society to ignore, if not ridicule, this whole area of the black man's experience. The white man discounts the reality and the importance of the phenomenon. He ridicules obeah, legislates against it, preaches against it but makes no serious effort to understand it or the sources from which it derives. Banned from church and society, obeah is driven underground to thrive in the dark as a proscribed and evil thing and to create an even greater division between black and white society.

#### LOSS OF YOUTH TO THE CHURCH ¶

The Church in Jamaica is experiencing the same loss of its youth as the Churches in other lands. In many communities, the Christian group is not holding the natural increment of its members. Increasing numbers of boys and girls are leaving their home communities to receive education or to find positions in Kingston or in the parochial centres. Many of these young people do not return to their home communities, and their church memberships lapse. There is an inevitable loss to the Church in this long-continued absence of members from the community. These young people form social affiliations elsewhere which cause them to lose their faith and marry into irreligious or unchurched families. These communities are experiencing a changing centre of gravity. Where, in former years, the Church in the countryside was the chief social and spiritual centre of life, more recently various organizations have arisen, independent of the Church, which compete for the time and loyalty of the young people. The Grange, Boy Scouts, Pioneers, Girl Guides, Agricultural Societies and Women's Societies, many of them outside of the Church,

have appeared and have done a great deal to stimulate the interest and absorb the energies of youth. These outside activities for young people tend to decrease their interest in the Church.

The responsibility for this trend may be partly placed at the door of the Church itself. It too often limits its programme to preaching, Sunday school, and a midweek prayer meeting. It fails to identify itself with the week-day life of its people, and finds it difficult to offer its growing boys and girls activities which are both constructive and interesting. The Church frequently stands in the minds of the young people as a big negation. It says "no" to almost everything they want to do, and it is not organized to develop positive constructive activities which the young people would find stimulating. It is no wonder that great numbers of them under these conditions leave the Church for circles of society and organizations where they can do the things that interest them.

The superintendent of one of the large mission Churches in Jamaica, in speaking of the youth problem, said:

I have often wondered whether we were right in applying a rigid discipline in the matter of recreation and personal habits. This has driven many of our young people out of the Church to find their amusement in other places, while others who have stayed in the Church have done these things secretly. Would it not be better for the Church to stop stressing the wrong of such things and rather give our youth opportunities for amusing themselves with social parties and good times within the auspices of the Church.

I am inclined to feel that we are making hypocrites out of some of our people, and that we are losing hold upon the youth on vital moral and spiritual essentials because we put so much stress on secondary matters.

A pastor at Lucea stated:

Our youth will enjoy themselves—if not in the Church, then without. We do not have sympathy with most of the things the young folk do, such as dancing, fife and drum corps, or picnics. It does no good to criticize. Recreation and play, including boy scouts, girl guides, fife and drum, tennis, and cricket clubs ought to be in the church programme.

One of our elders drove off the boys who were playing cricket

on the church grounds and then complained because they did not attend church. We must win the boys through sympathy with their interests. Their sports and their clubs should be organized within the Church.

In a typical rural community among the foothills, there were Methodist, Baptist, and Seventh-Day Adventist Churches. The Methodist Church for ninety years has occupied a great stone building on a ridge overlooking the community. It seats eight hundred people but seldom has a congregation of more than two hundred. The pastor was concerned over losing many of his church children and young people. He said that since the opening of the community centre in the village and since the school had been moved from his church to the new government school building in the valley below, many of his boys and girls had lost interest in the Church.

The principal of this government elementary school, who also served as the superintendent of the Methodist Sunday School, told us that the church was losing its hold and that the community centre was taking its place. Of the two hundred children formerly enrolled, only fifty now attend the Methodist Sunday School. The principal said that he received little co-operation from the pastor and explained how school and community were working together for the development of the people by organizing troops of boy scouts and girl guides, adult educational classes, and by means of training in handicraft and domestic science.

A portion of the school yard was divided into little gardens where the pupils were learning to raise food crops. The school was in demand for community meetings, clubs, societies, and for lectures by government extension officers. Here was a seven-day community programme for all the age groups, in which the many-sided problem of securing a better life for the people was dealt with in concrete ways. The church and its minister were being "by-passed" by the new forces astir in the village.

In a village in St. Mary's Parish, we walked through the dark streets to the Methodist Church schoolhouse to meet the Young People's Society at a week night social gathering. The school was one of the few lighted buildings in the village. The room was filled with young people. They sang in unison and in parts; in-

dividuals were called upon for vocal and instrumental solos; they recited poems and dialogues; they discussed together the "pros" and "cons" of a local village political crisis.

These young people meet each week under their own leadership, discuss their own problems and needs and the conduct of their own members. They practise for public concerts and for dramatic plays, and they are upon friendly competitive terms with similar young people's groups in other communities with whom they interchange visits. These activities are centred in the church and are identified with it.

Further down the street, a crowd was standing around a crude platform where, by the light of a lamp, a revivalist speaker was at work. His exhortations were punctuated by wild music and handclapping from the swaying crowds. Ragged children were playing hide-and-go-seek among the standing people—most of whom were workers just back from the plantations and mothers holding little babies. One was impressed by the contrast between the two meetings: the one drew a quiet, neatly-dressed group to a well-lighted church building; the other met the people on the unlighted street in their working clothes and encumbered by their little children. However, both groups were providing for the natural expression of emotions and interest of the people.



## CHAPTER IV

### RESOURCES

A COMMON ASSUMPTION with regard to peoples of lower economic standards and particularly to a society based upon a subsistence economy is that they lack the economic and cultural resources required for supporting the Church of Christ. Such an assumption is based upon a mistaken concept of the Church and a failure to recognize fully the inner capacity and available resources of races which have a different cultural heritage and economy. The way of redemption which God has provided is essentially not too costly nor too heavy a burden to be carried by any of His children no matter how much they lack the economic and social amenities to which a European civilization has become accustomed. There is evidence in the record of missions that some of the most primitive and backward peoples have been the first to develop an indigenous and financially independent Church, and, on the other hand, it is among races whose economic level and culture most nearly approximate those of the mission-sending lands that the support of the Church has been most difficult to achieve.

Granted that the mass of the Jamaican people are living on an extremely low economic level, that their earning power is very small, and that the economic conditions in the island are definitely bad, after mingling with Jamaican people and observing their ways of life and their reaction to the conditions of their environment, one is impressed with their innate capacity and the latent resources in themselves and in their environment. Finally, there is the intriguing fact that more than one half of the Churches in Jamaica are actually self-supporting—supported largely on a subsistence economy—and some of them have been financially independent for one hundred years.

#### THE LAND AND ITS USE

First among the resources of the people is the soil of their island. Although the soils of Jamaican districts vary in quality,

depth, and accessibility, no land we have visited excels Jamaica in fertility. Land that will raise sugarcane for one hundred and fifty years with little rest and scant fertilization, and which, with a reliable and copious rainfall, can grow several crops of vegetables in twelve months, is an incalculable asset to a people.

The very fertility of the island and the ease with which food can be secured from breadfruit, mango, guava, and banana trees is an obstacle in securing a maximum return from the land. Why should one work for a richer and more varied diet when nature provides so gratuitously and well? There are few Jamaicans outside of the city of Kingston who do not have access to a plot of land large enough, if properly cultivated, to provide the family with a good variety and volume of fruit and vegetables. These, together with eggs and goat milk, form the basis of a balanced diet.

The model kitchen gardens grown by many elementary schools in Jamaica demonstrate that plots of ground, not more than seven by fifteen yards, can produce varied and abundant crops of vegetables.

The Jamaican has a natural aptitude for farming which is demonstrated by the presence of a larger proportion of small farmers in the population of the colony than in any other of the West Indian islands. The Jamaican peasant is receptive to instruction and is showing a capacity for learning new methods of agriculture. He is not handicapped by conventional traditions of cultivation as is the caste villager of India. A rapidly growing number of trained and prosperous small landholders serve to demonstrate to the Jamaican masses the value of new methods and the possibility of progress through a careful use of the soil. This is a far greater incentive for them to change their methods and standards than the example of European farmers could possibly be.

There are wide areas of unused land in Jamaica now out of production that are owned by corporations, private estates, and by Government. The government programme of land settlement, which buys these lands and then breaks them up into homestead sites for small farmers, holds great promise for improving the economic stability of the people.

## UNUSED TIME

The vast amount of unused time which is at the disposal of the Jamaican people is also a resource with incalculable possibilities. As we note in another chapter, the average working week of the Jamaican wage earner is four to four and one-half days and frequently drops to three and one-half or even three days a week. Here is the equivalent of one-third to one-half of the potential earning power of a large part of the nation—the poorest and neediest part—that is largely wasted. When coupled with the unused soil, this resource of unused time offers important possibilities for improvement in diet, health, home life, increased income, prosperity, and self-respect.

But there are other uses to which the asset of time could be applied. The rural Jamaican could learn handicrafts, so that out of such materials of the environment as palm fibre, rattan, clay, sea shells, gourds, seeds, and tortoise shell or horn, saleable articles could be produced. This work, if organized, would bring new income to many partly employed workers. The use of spare time in reading, study, and discussion groups would bring literacy and a new interest in life to the man, woman, or child who has the ambition to improve his status. In these various ways, by keeping both the body and mind of the individual occupied, a natural antidote is created for the aimless and debilitating habits of thousands of rural and urban Jamaicans.

## HOME PRODUCTION

Like many other countries of the Caribbean area, Jamaica, because of the profits from her export trade, has specialized in bananas, sugar, and other exports to the exclusion of the production of foods and goods for basic home consumption.

Major G. St. J. Orde Browne in his report upon *Labour Conditions in the West Indies* makes the following statement upon the adverse trade balance of Jamaica:

Clearly Jamaica might save anything up to a quarter of a million pounds or more annually were she to produce, as she easily could, the greater proportion of the food now imported from overseas. The money thus retained at home would be paid to local growers, for whom much needed employment would thus be found. . . .

. . . Imported coconut fibre matting is in common use though the husk from which it might be made at home remains rotting on the ground. A prejudice against local products handicaps the Kingston shoe factory, and fashion exacts the purchase of imported clothing rather than the work of Jamaican tailors and dress-makers. . . .

Dairying might provide an offset for the £113,000 spent on milk and the £60,000 spent on butter. . . . Animals for slaughter would also admit of a large increase. . . . At present nearly a quarter of a million pounds annually is spent on preserved fish from North America, an anomaly accentuated by the fact that Jamaica's dependency, the Turks and Caicos Islands, exists largely on the export of salt to Canada for the curing of the article to be imported. . . . The local tobacco is mainly suited to the production of the popular Jamaica cigar; there would seem to be a possibility for a wider utilisation of the plant to compensate for the £46,000 paid for imported tobacco. Boots and shoes cost annually £118,000, although a sound cheap article is made in Kingston. . . . Laundry soap to the value of £43,000 is imported from the United Kingdom although Jamaica is rich in vegetable oils. £20,000 for confectionery seems a curious item for an island which produces not only sugar but cocoa.<sup>1</sup>

#### EDUCATION

In the school, the Church has at its disposal one of the most powerful instruments of progress of the nation. The five hundred church schools of Jamaica are capable of shaping the direction and enriching the content of the whole life of the people. Although Government has the final voice in determining the scope and nature of the instruction and the technical qualifications of the teachers, the Churches are given a vital share in the educational process by providing both the teaching staff and the environment and atmosphere of the school as well as the religious instruction of the children.

#### EMOTIONAL RESOURCES OF THE JAMAICAN

To a large extent, the emotional resources of the Jamaican form unexplored territory. Many recognize that deep sources of emotion exist in the Jamaican and that they are related to

1. Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, O.B.E., *Report on Labour Conditions in the West Indies* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), pp. 84, 87, *passim*.

his affinity for pocomania, for obeah, for wild dancing, and sexual excesses. Jamaican leaders are needed who can look objectively at this emotional African inheritance and try to discover how it may be related to the making of a normal, well-balanced, progressive, and stable Jamaican social order and Christian way of life. At the same time the best endowments of the Jamaican must be conserved. It is not so readily perceived that these deep emotions are a source of creative power and may be looked upon as a part of the life endowment of the Jamaican to be put to work constructively in building an indigenous Jamaican culture and society. In his report on *Education in the Windward and Leeward Islands*, 1939, Mr. S. A. Hammond, writes:

... There is that which is called the soul of a people; something vital and enduring from which its members derive spiritual strength. Englishmen have it in England; Africans have it in many different forms in Africa; but West Indians, products for the most part of England and Africa, have not, I think, found it in the West Indies.

Education cannot create a soul, but it can help people to find its own.

... the kind of response to life which Africans have evolved in Africa may be a better guide than the kind of response which Englishmen have evolved during a much shorter time in England, to the spiritual food needed by those of African descent in the West Indies. . . .

... In art lies perhaps the greatest contribution of Africans that we can now see to the civilizations of the world. The significance of African sculpture is now very widely recognized. . . . Many Africans are musical and have a subtle sense of rythm, the foundation of the arts, and very close to the springs of being. They dance, not for amusement only, but to express their feelings; and since dancing and drama are in their origin close together, their natural dramatic gifts are no matter for surprise. . . .

Since the arts are the means in which the African response to life has been most characteristically expressed and developed, the conclusion is reasonable that they should play a great part in West Indian life. They are now, as we have seen, conspicuously absent. I do not suggest that they should dance and play and sing much more than they do, (but) that they should begin at an early age to draw and paint and shape; that they should develop their expression freely, especially before adolescence in the way that has



produced such new and remarkable results among the children of other races. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Hammond stresses the central place of ritual in the education of feeling in both primitive and civilized society. The extent to which ritual evokes and disciplines feeling is important in the training and directing of the emotions in the service and adoration of the highest spiritual objectives.

#### COMMUNAL RESPONSE TO LIFE

Another inherent endowment of the West Indian of African descent which must be placed in any listing of his resources is his communal response to life.

Africans, by nature communal, derive their individuality from their membership of a group, and without that membership are often rudderless. . . . Communal feeling holds individuals together from the centre and lets them improvise at the circumference. This suggests that the organization should be simpler and the cohesive force stronger; stronger at least than reasoned action for the common good. . . . I am inclined to think that co-operation in the West Indies should develop more readily and fruitfully in the social rather than the economic field. . . .<sup>3</sup>

This principle has numerous implications for the social, economic, and religious progress of West Indian society. A sound approach and one which should draw out the best from young Jamaicans would be to work with children and youth through the medium of clubs.

The communal instinct should readily lend itself to the formation of strong church ties. The community of believers of those brought together by a common faith in one Lord and in a common way of life should be readily extended to embrace a sense of social solidarity and brotherhood in which the distress of each member becomes the concern of all.

#### THE JAMAICAN GOVERNMENT

The Church in Jamaica enjoys the inestimable advantage of working under a Government which reflects the Christian

2. Report of the Education Commissioner, 1939, *Education in the Windward and Leeward Islands* (Trinidad: British West Indies, 1940), pars. 41, 42, 49, 51, 52, *passim*.

3. *Idem.*, pars. 55, 57.

point of view and the high ethical and humanitarian principles and practice of Great Britain. In general, government officers are men of Christian faith and sympathies who are committed to the task of developing a population worthy of British traditions. Here is a resource which is denied the Church in many of the mission fields. Moreover, Jamaica as a part of the British Empire is heir to English experience in dealing with subject peoples. While this relationship has its limitations, one need but contrast the political and social heritage of Jamaica with those of certain other lands in the Caribbean area to grasp its significance for the future of the nation and of the Church.

#### CHRISTIAN PUBLIC OPINION

Closely related to the heritage of the Christian Government is the connection, sometimes only nominal, of a majority of the leaders of Jamaican society with the Church. For generations, the community leaders, whether in city or parochial centres, have been in general identified with the Church. This explains the presence of a Christian public opinion among the people who carry the social responsibilities of the island. Among large groups of workers these sanctions of public opinion do not have widespread validity. New centres of leadership and ideology are emerging from among the proletariat which are not in harmony with this Christian public opinion, and serve to emphasize rather than to discount the reality of this resource of the Church. This may well serve as a challenge to the Church to win a more vital participation of the leaders of society in its programme of service to the community.

#### RACIAL SOLIDARITY

A unique resource of the Church in Jamaica is the racial solidarity and comparative absence of race feeling within the Church which exist in various lands where peoples of different colour live side by side.

There is no legal discrimination, no educational, no spiritual barrier to shut the coloured man off at a lower level. . . .

And social divisions do not correspond with race divisions. As has been already seen, the professions are staffed largely by coloured men; the Government offices, the legislative assemblies and the

island councils, commerce, trade, industry, are largely in their hands. In the Church there is no race discrimination whatever. The practice of having separate churches for white and coloured is unknown in the West Indies. The two races sit side by side in the congregations and on the church vestries, and learn the ideal of brotherhood in a common sonship. . . .

. . . There is a genuine respect and liking, often a deep affection, between the races, which transcends all social inequalities . . . none but the most bitter of the coloured leaders feels that his race is being shut out of life on account of any theory of race inferiority.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, as John Levo goes on to point out in his sketch of the Church in the West Indies:

Latterly there are clear signs of a growth in colour prejudice, more on the side of the coloured man than the white. Economic discrimination is charged with being race discrimination. . . .

Not very long ago the race problem could have been solved in the West Indies, quite apart from its impact on other countries. That time has gone by. . . . There is a growing sense of race solidarity. Modern scientific inventions, the wireless, journalism, travel, education, have contracted the world to such dimensions that a West Indian knows what happens to his brother in Africa or America the day after the event. . . . They envisage their race as bearing a universal yoke fastened on it by the white man. . . .<sup>5</sup>

However, the absence of race cleavage such as exists in the United States and in South Africa makes possible a Christian solidarity and brotherhood in the church life of Jamaica which sets a high watermark in the mixed racial communities of the world.

#### CHURCH PROPERTIES

The many well-located church buildings and schoolhouses, together with the land upon which they stand, are great assets to the Church in view of the larger community programmes which are being introduced so rapidly into Jamaica. If the Church is to keep its rôle of wide service in the community, it must not only be sensitive to community needs but also have the facilities with which to meet them. A part of the spacious grounds of some churches could well be used as a play space for the children and young people, or could be made into gar-

4. John Levo, *The Romantic Isles* (London: S. P. G.), pp. 78, 79, *passim*.

5. *Idem.*, pp. 79, 80, *passim*.

dens to grow demonstration crops. The school rooms could be used for evening classes and social gatherings. Where the capacity of a church is larger than required for preaching services, the additional space could be remodeled for use as a library, or as a centre for young people's clubs and recreation. In this way, a seven-day-a-week programme would be possible, and the Church might, in time, become a new centre of community life. This would be along the lines of the work of Jamaica Welfare Limited.<sup>6</sup> Another method to enlarge community facilities might be accomplished by uniting two of the denominations in some of the rural communities now served by several denominations. This would release a church building for use as a community centre or as the seat of a larger parish programme.

#### VISUAL EDUCATION

The Church, courts, and the schools have been trying for one hundred years to create new values and a sense of responsibility in the Jamaican. It would be untrue to say that they have failed; nearer the truth to say that they have only partly succeeded. There still remains very much to be done.

The fact that certain values and sanctions are valid for the priest, the judge, and the teacher leaves the illiterate Jamaican unmoved because it does not correspond to reality in his own experience. The average Jamaican peasant has an adolescent mentality. He reads little or not at all. His world is a visual world of the imagination, sensations, and emotions. It is a world that is not easily penetrated by logic or by appeals to duty. Its door is the eye rather than the ear, and the eye leads directly to the imagination. Through the eye the concept is most easily grasped and then applied to the individual experience—past, present, or future. Herein lies the power of visual education and of cinema as its instrument.

By visual education we mean enfolding an idea in a human interest story or a drama where it is embodied in the experience of the characters. The picture must depict the familiar world of the audience, and the story be kept within the range of its experience. It must not become a fable or a remote event which

6. A description of Jamaica Welfare Limited may be found on pages 72-75.



bears no relation to those present. In viewing a picture whose actors and scenes are familiar, the audience projects itself into the characters and situations and lives over with them the joys, sorrows, losses, success, shame, and pride of hero and heroine. In this way, the causes as well as the results of such experiences appear and take on reality. To secure the best results, the pictures should be accompanied by a talking commentary.

The experience of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment in East Africa which was carried out through the co-operation of the British East African Governments, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the International Missionary Council should be studied and utilized.

With clever production, both technical, instructional, and human interest pictures can be made of absorbing interest and would take the place to some extent of the "slapstick" variety of comics and tragedy with which the cheap cinema halls entertain the people. The Jamaican will not learn new ways of life by showing him pictures of how people live and act in England but by seeing how Jamaican life is lived in all its familiar sordidness, poverty, and misery, and how it has been changed by Jamaicans like himself through the use of new principles and methods.

Some of the subjects which could be developed through the cinema with good results are:

Soil erosion: its causes, results, and preventive measures	Training for motherhood
Use of idle land	Homemaking
Diversification of crops	Youth activities
Better stock	Savings and thrift
Seed selection	Petty thievery
Processing of surplus crops	Use of leisure time
Better houses	Co-operatives
Pure water supply	Illegitimacy
Use of properly built latrines	Superstition and obeah
Mosquito control	Pocomania and its effects
Care and feeding of children	Illiteracy
Care of infections and wounds	Child labour
Venereal diseases	Religious films
Prevention of malaria	Industrial films

## SPIRITUAL RESOURCES OF THE JAMAICAN

The spiritual traits of the Jamaican are, in the last instance, the richest of all the resources of the Church. Because the inner life of the African differs from that of the white man and contains elements that are foreign to his experience, it is not easy for the white man to correctly evaluate the black man's spiritual endowment. John Levo describes this endowment as follows:

. . . One notices an immense vigour of reality in their faith. For practical purposes they are in the position of early Christians. The great revelation of God incarnate . . . is not much more than one hundred years away from them. They were in "the blackness of bondage," and Jesus came and gave them freedom and love and light. They are nearer to the sources of that Divine revelation than we are. . . . Our religious experience is apt to come to us remotely, . . . with a pale lunar gleam . . . theirs comes to them with the rapture of the immediate and wondrous light. As a Christian race they are not old enough to need intellectual verifications; that Jesus is there with them is an enthralling fact, intensely and emotionally perceived.

This gives a lovely quality to their worship.

. . . Another characteristic of West Indian religion is its naive and spontaneous happiness. . . . They really radiate happiness—and the right kind of happiness—for they have been with God; and they were pleased to be with Him, and He, of course, was just as pleased as they.

The barrier between the seen and unseen world is to them transparent. They have eyes to see the invisible, and powers, as Wordsworth, had, to hear immortal sounds. They are possessed of a sort of democratic mysticism, which makes earth and heaven interpenetrate and become one country. . . .

. . . this awareness of an immortal and invisible environment makes them view death in its proper character, as incidental and not irrevocably final. They feel their immortality. Nobody could make them believe that they were merely mortal. They love a funeral . . . but wakes and services and all the paraphernalia are, as they ought to be, not a last farewell, but a send-off.<sup>7</sup>

In at least two respects, Jamaican Christianity enriches the world-wide Church and has a universal value.

From nearly every land of the younger Churches, the assump-

7. *Idem.*, pp. 59, 60, 61, 64-65, *passim*.

tion and practice prevail that a trained ministry cannot be supported upon a rural economy. Jamaica has shown that the impossible can be done. Well over one half of her individual churches, the great majority of them rural, and one half of her denominational organizations are independent of foreign financial help, dependent solely upon local sources for their support. It is true that many of these churches are experiencing severe difficulties and that the level of support of many pastors is not what it should be. It is also true that church equipment and programme have frequently suffered, but the record stands to the lasting credit of church leaders and laymen in proving to churches everywhere that a creditable church leadership and programme can be, to a great extent, sustained by a people who are barely above the level of a subsistence economy.

The other example which Jamaican Christianity sets for the world is in the matter of race equality and racial brotherhood. This island colony touches a higher level at this point than any society we have visited. Although race feeling exists and discrimination is present in the inner social life of the island and although economic and political injustices are present, visits in nearly every parish and contacts with nearly every walk of life, failed to reveal any evidence of race discrimination. White, black, and coloured sit side by side and worship together in all the churches—from cathedrals to remote rural chapels. And even more striking is the equality in office and salary among the English and Jamaican clergy of many of the church groups.

## CHAPTER V

### HOW JAMAICA HANDLES HER PROBLEMS

ON GOING to Jamaica we were prepared to find a formidable list of human problems, nor were we disappointed in the expectation. What had not been anticipated, however, was the widespread concern on the part of nearly everyone we met over social and economic conditions in the island, and the surprising number of remedial measures which were in action. Some of these measures were of long standing, others had scarcely been started, while still others were being discussed, but all were definitely dealing with some aspect of Jamaica's need. This chapter is devoted to a description of a selected list of the programmes of social and economic reconstruction that are already in progress, in the belief that out of Jamaica's own experience will emerge sound guiding principles for the development of island society.

#### GOVERNMENT MEASURES

The Government of Jamaica is thoroughly aware of the economic and social handicaps under which its people are living and through its different departments is applying itself vigorously to the task of bettering conditions. This awareness was stimulated by the labour riots of 1937 which flared up in Kingston and upon large sugar estates in various parts of the island. However, Government has been severely handicapped in instituting effective remedial measures by its financial limitations. Its budget barely allows for routine services to be carried on, and it has inadequate reserves for new or experimental programmes of reconstruction. In view of these limitations and the size of the task, a surprising volume of effective work in economic and social reconstruction is in progress.

#### *Education*

For several years there has been an enlarged emphasis upon vocational training in primary and secondary education. The purposes of this training as applied to a predominantly rural population are described as follows:

Vocational education aims at training the youth of the country to appreciate the rural economic environment, to make use of the natural resources at hand, to be interested in and develop the various forms of manual skill, thus raising their standard of efficiency, and improving their economic position, developing strength of character and contributing to the economic and social welfare of the community; to encourage Land Settlement, and other co-operative communal welfare efforts.

Girls are encouraged to be good home-makers, and receive practical training in housecraft, needlecraft, farming and such other practical avenues for individual and community improvement.

Such training to be effective must be built on a foundation of religious culture.

Training in industry and character building uplifts the community and makes for happy and healthy citizenship with a love for, and appreciation of rural life. . . .

The suitable boy goes from the Elementary School with its manual training and agricultural advantages to the Practical Training Centres, to his own farm or land settlement project, to the Jamaica School of Agriculture, the Technical School, or other suitable trade centres, finding his place in the community at the stage best suited to his individuality.

The girl passes from the Elementary School with its home craft Centres to the Practical Training Centre, and other suitable practical training courses, finding her place in the community at suitable stages according to her character and ability.<sup>1</sup>

There are three vocational training centres in Jamaica: Holmwood, Dinthill, and Carron Hall. The Holmwood Centre at Christiana, Manchester Parish, provides a regular two-year or special three-year course for ninety boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. These lads are selected by competitive tests from among elementary school graduates from all over the island. The boys spend one-half of their time in classroom work and one-half outside on the farm and in the workshops. Holmwood occupies 258 acres of land including school grounds, cultivated fields, and meadows. Here, boys are taught to grow staple and minor crops and vegetables, rear stock, and keep poultry and bees. Tailoring, shoemaking, tin-smithing, metal-working, masonry, carpentry, and cabinet-making are also taught. The farm and

1. W. A. Cover, *The Handbook of Jamaica*, 1939 (Jamaica: The Government Printing Office, Kingston, 1939), pp. 344-345.



workshop products provide about one half of the maintenance of the school. A striking feature is the use of simple machinery and the materials of the island environment which will later enable the boys to carry on amid the primitive conditions of their home communities. For instance, the power machinery in the metal-working shops is put together from wheels and gears of old automobile engines, waste iron, rods, and other cast-away metals which the boys are taught to assemble and use in place of expensive, new equipment. The boys are also directed in the construction of the school buildings.

The Practical Training Centre for Girls at Carron Hall—the only school of its type in the island—is preparing fifty girls for leadership in domestic science and home crafts, child nurture, and in the basic qualities which make for building, through the home, a foundation for citizenship and character. The five years of training includes practical courses in food production, gardening, and poultry-keeping, in addition to cooking, sewing, dress-making, laundering, embroidery, weaving, decorating, and the practical care and training of little children. The Carnegie Corporation has made possible the practical industrial training of this school through a generous grant. This school aims to instil in the pupils an appreciation of the basic values on which the Christian home and family are founded. There is no greater need in Jamaica than the multiplication of schools of this type.

The elementary schools of Jamaica are steadily increasing their emphasis upon simple agricultural training and school gardens. Government supplies the tools, seeds, and technical advice and offers prizes to the schools having the best kept gardens. Wherever we went, we were shown the work of the pupils in agriculture—an occupation from which a majority of them had come and to which a majority of them would eventually return.

The elementary school at Highgate, in the parish of St. Mary, had been awarded the first prize of the year by the Department of Education. An acre of land was beautifully laid out with a great variety of food crops, vegetables, and flowers. The beds were painstakingly tilled and labelled with the name and life history of each plant and had instructions for its nurture. The children not only were cultivating new varieties of vegetables

but were learning how to prepare them and then were carrying them home to be used by their families.

Agricultural training is also given in some of the upper schools of the colony such as Cornwall College, Montego Bay. The 120 students are organized into 4-H Clubs and work two afternoons each week, dividing their attention between their individual plots and their communal project. The first task of the Clubs was to clear the brush from a seven-acre hill and prepare it for cultivation. This is the first experience of manual labour for a majority of the students, for the middle class, from which they come, look upon such work as beneath their dignity. The Principal of the college considers this agricultural project of incalculable value in the education of his students.

The Department of Education, with rural reconstruction primarily in view, has in hand the development of an adult educational programme through the use of the cinema. Two sixteen millimetre films of an experimental nature related to the general problems of the island have been made. However, the war has held up, for the present, the programme of film production.

### *Land Settlement*

Another basic government programme is the scheme for Demonstration Holdings on Settlement Land. This development was begun in 1937 in response to the increasing demand of the Jamaican peasantry for land and the need of the small landholder for agricultural assistance.

Although the average Jamaican is a man who has lived close to the soil, the requirements of modern farming are so exacting that the small farmer needs expert help to develop his land and establish himself. Four hundred thousand pounds were voted as a capital sum to be spent in the acquisition of suitable properties for land settlement. The properties purchased under this scheme are Crown lands and, although many areas have lain fallow for a long time, they have all been previously cultivated. Twenty thousand small farms from twenty to fifty acres in size have been allocated to settlers at prices of £5 to £12 an acre. The plots are purchased on the monthly installment plan, and payments may extend over a ten-year period.

A man is given a little passbook for keeping his accounts. This shows the owner exactly where he stands: how much he pays, what has been paid, and what remains to be paid. The director stated:

We have eighty-eight land settlement centres in the island, each in charge of a supervisor. The usual type of farming by the peasant is to cultivate a plot for four or five years then, when the soil gets less productive, to abandon it for virgin bush land, and his former plot is subject to erosion, and the top soil is lost. The problem of soil erosion is one upon which we are working.

On the five thousand acres of the new Pennant Settlement in Clarendon Parish there are already two hundred settlers and room for three hundred more. We visited three of the homesteads of this settlement.

One man who was living in a temporary shack with his wife and five children had bought three and one-half acres of land for which he was paying £7 an acre. His land was planted mostly in sugarcane, but he also had some well-kept corn and yam fields. He apologized for his poor hut and told us that he was getting ready to build a permanent house. He said that he worked twelve hours a day and was helped in the fields by his wife and three children, while his two other children attended school. His land was fertile, his prospects good, and, if he could get a fair price for his crops, he hoped to buy more land.

Another settler, who owned ten acres of rich bottom land, subject to flooding, for which he paid £5 an acre, was in more prosperous circumstances. He had built a two-room house with a lean-to and a detached shed for his horse, hogs, and poultry. He was growing corn, beans, potatoes, and sugarcane. The children of this family were all in school.

At the office of the Golden Spring Settlement where four hundred and fifty farm plots have been taken up, we watched the farmers come in to pay the monthly instalments on their land. One man paid 30s. and showed us his passbook with payments aggregating £22 7s. 6d. and with £19 still remaining to be paid. A community room and playing field close by gave the settlers facilities for meetings, club gatherings, and sports.

At this settlement, Government maintains a stud farm for improving the breeds of cattle and hogs, and there is an office of the Agricultural Extension Service where advice may be had on seed selection, control of pests and parasites, and soil erosion.

The Land Settlement Projects are effectively integrated with other Government rehabilitation activities such as those of the Food Production Board, employment projects, and housing activities.

### *The Food Production Board*

The Food Production Board was created as a war measure for the duration to augment the food supplies of the colony and received an initial grant of fifty thousand pounds. The Board is not a government department but operates in close harmony with the Lands, Agriculture, and Labour Departments and with semiprivate services such as the Agricultural Societies. From all of these organizations, members are appointed to its Board of Management. The purpose of the Board is:

- to develop unused land and put it under the cultivation of those food crops which Jamaica has been importing;

- to train small farmers in the technique of land development and food production;

- to influence large estate owners to increase their production of basic food crops instead of export crops.

During the nine months operation of the field programme, 1,200 small farmers have been enlisted and trained in new food production. However, 17,500 other farmers have been indirectly influenced by the example of these projects to put their lands under similar lines of production. This indirect result, which was not anticipated, has resulted in the total added production already having exceeded the goal set by the Board. Some exceedingly valuable by-products have emerged from this food production programme.

The six hundred acres of undeveloped land of the Belvedere Project, seven miles northwest of Kingston, occupies steep slopes with outcropping rock and scraggly bush save for the narrow valleys between the ridges. More unprepossessing conditions for food production would be hard to find. The bush had to be cleared, the slopes terraced on natural contour lines

to check soil erosion, and low walls laid. Rows of stones picked up off the slopes were piled on the contour lines. Trash and rubbish were then thrown against these stone barriers and each heavy rain washed the soil down against their upper sides and gradually terraces began to appear.

This Belvedere Project well illustrates the integration of government services: food production, soil conservation, agricultural instruction, land settlement, housing, and public works. These were all in full swing, and each contributes its share towards the common goal. Two hundred and fifty unemployed men from Kingston were engaged in clearing bush, cleaning the land, and doing the common and skilled labour required. The men are trained in soil conservation, learn how to run the contour lines and spillways for the water and to plant the food crops. They also learn how to build houses for the land settlers, construct drying platforms, reservoirs, fences, ditches, roads, etc. and receive practical training in modern farming. After a few months, some of these workers become tenants on allotments which the Government rents to them. They cultivate along the lines learned from the project and are becoming small independent farmers. The director explained:

We are absorbing a certain amount of Kingston unemployed, taking twenty men at a time at wages of 17s. 6d. per week and putting them on their own feet. We are experimenting with various types of workers' cottages—usually with two rooms, a large porch and out-house. We are building three kinds of roofs—thatch, shingle, and tile—which cost from £7 to £13 per roof. We creosote our own roof shingles and are trying to find the most useful construction material. Except for nails, hinges, and doorknobs, we use Jamaican building materials. We have picked out as difficult a piece of terrain and as rocky a soil as exist anywhere in order to show the people what can be done with poor land.

Some of the upper slopes of this project appeared to be barren limestone escarpments set at an angle of forty degrees, but, on examination, peas and corn could be seen sprouting among the rocks along the contoured terraces.

### *Unemployment Relief*

In addition to the Belvedere Project, we visited two other types of unemployment relief projects under the Department of Labour.



Near Kingston eighty unemployed men from the city are being trained in the intensive cultivation of food crops on two hundred acres of fertile land. Here, they learn modern methods of dealing with the soil—irrigation, cultivation, fertilization—and raise a wide variety of produce. After six months of this training, the men may purchase or rent land on easy payments and become homesteaders. When they have been established as small farmers, other men take their places on the project. The produce is marketed or stored under the Food Production Board Authority.

The Bull Bay relief project of swamp reclamation has already been described on page 28.

#### SECULAR AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMMES

Secular programmes for social and economic rehabilitation of Jamaicans have existed for many years but, until recently, have been largely confined to the aid of people in distress. The *Handbook of Jamaica, 1939* lists no less than ten benevolent trust funds which have been established for the relief of the poor, care of the sick, the blind, and the aged.

#### *Relief Organizations*

The Kingston Charity Organization Society brings the various charitable agencies in the district into co-operation with each other and with the Poor Law Authorities and aims to check the confusion of independent action. It investigates all applicants for poor relief and tries to secure an equable disbursement of funds, to repress imposture, and to inculcate habits of prudence, self-reliance, and thrift. The Society is also interested in proper housing and hand industries for the poor. The Kingston Charity Organization Society has the patronage of the leaders of Jamaican life and is doing a most valuable work.

The Women's Social Service Association aims to enlarge the usefulness of existing agencies, to improve the health of the women of the island, and, through the enforcement or alteration of child welfare laws, to better the treatment of children, and, finally, to encourage better housing of the poor.

The Women's League has organized school soup kitchens, furthers hospital visitation, the transportation of the sick and

indigent, and is working for the mental and physical development of children. It sponsors district nursing, work for the blind, local industries, and the social organizations of the churches.

Among a number of self-help organizations are the Lady Musgrove Women's Self-Help Society in Kingston and the Montego Bay Self-Help Home which work to develop women's handicrafts and cottage industries. The former society is self-supporting and successfully markets the handiwork of its constituency.

### *Co-operatives*

An outstanding co-operative project at Bull Savanna in the Santa Cruz mountains is demonstrating what a producing and marketing co-operative can accomplish in Jamaica under skilled leadership.

Jamaica Vegetables Inc. was started in 1935 by the manager, Major Moxie. Representatives from Jamaica Welfare Ltd., the Government, and small producers are all upon the Board of Directors. The company works on twelve thousand pounds of capital. There are 1,700 members in the co-operative who are shareholders. Most of the small producers possess an average of only one to one and one-half acres under tomato cultivation, an equal area for growing grass to shade the tomatoes, and two to four acres of land for subsistence crops. The tomatoes are canned and shipped to Canada. The producers take shares in the company and receive working dividends. The turnover of the company in 1940 was forty thousand pounds, and the average net profit to the producers was sixty pounds.

The industry has grown rapidly, largely through demonstration as the members show the technique of production and its value to their neighbours. The tomato growing area covers about fifteen square miles—an area which could be doubled without taxing the capacity of the canning factory. The health of the community has improved remarkably through the tomato diet and the use of other foods. One rule of the co-operative requires every member to put in other food crops besides tomatoes to ensure a balanced diet and a source of additional income for the family.

*Jamaica Welfare Limited*

The outstanding secular programme of social and economic reconstruction in Jamaica is that of Jamaica Welfare Limited. This semiprivate agency was formed in 1936 to offset the monopoly of the great fruit corporations, to develop the small farmer, and to advance the progress and self-reliance of the rural community. Its work is financed by the voluntary levying of a tax of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per stem upon all the bananas exported from Jamaica by the United Fruit Company. The large income of the society, although subject to the fluctuations of the banana export trade, has been sufficiently ample to allow a staff of seven full-time officers to be employed and to open a varied programme in thirty-five rural centres of the island. Each of these centres is a nucleus for work in surrounding smaller areas, and in this way the society's work is actively touching more than one hundred rural communities.

The guiding principle of Jamaica Welfare Limited is to encourage local interest and initiative to the point where it will act on its own behalf. This is based upon the belief that a welfare programme, to have lasting results, cannot be imposed successfully from without by an organizer coming into a community, but must come from within a group as an outgrowth of its desire to better its own position.

Three of the four executive secretaries are engaged in field extension. The work is divided into activities for men and women and also into age groups. Jamaica Welfare Limited has evolved certain basic principles of social and economic rehabilitation which the officers believe are suited to the needs and capacities of the Jamaican rural dweller. Its first plan of opening community centres with a paid staff, expensive buildings, and equipment, has been given up. Instead, Village Councils of Volunteer Societies Services have been formed. These Councils are composed of representatives of whatever local organizations—including churches, schools, police, business groups, farm granges, boy scouts, girl guides, and women's guilds—as may exist in a rural centre. Quarters are secured in available buildings, virtually no new equipment is needed, and no paid workers are employed. In this way, the whole community, through its

existing organizations and facilities, shares in co-operative programmes of village improvement. The Secretary of the Central Council of Volunteer Societies Services explained that by these means "it is hoped to relieve some of the deadly and demoralizing boredom of rural life where there is nothing to do after the sun goes down except to go to bed." The programme is also aimed at training the people to rely upon themselves and less upon Government.

Jamaica Welfare Limited employs an organizing officer for men's work who specializes in health, first-aid, educational, and recreational activities. A second officer directs the work for women and girls and has charge of the Central Council of Volunteer Societies Services. A third executive heads up the development of co-operatives among men and boys, takes care of practical projects such as the 4-H Clubs and the Pioneer Clubs, and integrates the work with such government activities as Settlers Associations, Food Production Board, and Labour Department projects. Other full-time secretaries are assigned to work with the co-operatives among Settlers Associations in the parish of St. Thomas and with organizing centres in Portland Parish, and to direct the itinerant visual education programme through cinema circuits.

The Board of Directors of Jamaica Welfare Limited acts through a Standing Committee consisting of Miss Edith Clarke, N. W. Manley, K.C., Ansell Hart, Esq., and P. M. Sherlock, Esq. The Chairman of the Board of Directors is Mr. N. W. Manley, and the Administrative Secretary is Mr. R. H. Fletcher.

Two outstanding emphases of Jamaica Welfare Limited in its task of rural uplift are: the "better village" approach and the co-operative approach. The "better village" approach is based on the belief that a better life can be had in any Jamaican village, provided the people desire it and will work for it, and upon the further belief that this desire exists in most villages to a varying degree and can be awakened in all.

A first step is to secure the co-operation of the key people in a village such as teachers, ministers, agricultural officers, and leaders of existing organizations. From among these, a temporary village committee is formed as a step toward a permanent village council to plan and to co-ordinate all village activities



for self-improvement. A social survey is next made with the help of the local leaders to secure the salient facts about the village as a basis for future planning, to determine the nature of practical projects needed and arrange for leadership training. Organizations are formed for those who are unattached on the basis of age groups, with leaders chosen by the members themselves. These group activities are affiliated with similar organizations in other villages. New groups first concentrate upon the young people and children of the village and are not organized until dependable local leadership is available. It is recognized that much attention in the development and training of such leadership will be required.

A permanent community centre is a natural outgrowth from such an organization, and this becomes the nucleus for the full development of a village. The importance of working through existing facilities until more or better facilities are available is stressed. Some practical service must be found, leaders trained, and the project must be carried through to a successful completion. Villages are encouraged to take a friendly interest in other nearby villages, and intervillage visits are arranged. An underlying objective of every "better village" project is character building.

An officer of Jamaica Welfare Limited who is in charge of co-operative education told us how he had started work with the hope of organizing credit and buying co-operatives but, after disappointing experiences, had had to use a different policy. He believes that the first step toward sound economic co-operation is training in social and community co-operative effort within the familiar activities of the village and that not until the peasant has had some experience and understanding within the sphere of his simple interests is he prepared for the responsibilities of economic co-operation. The economic co-operative must come as a natural growth within a group which has learned to work together on simpler projects, and cannot be superimposed on a community.

Jamaica Welfare Limited hopes eventually to extend its influence to every rural community on the island by introducing social and economic activities suited to each age group, by re-



habilitating the home through training in motherhood, child care, and home-making, by providing recreation and social opportunities for the young people, better standards of nutrition and health, and increased earning capacity and habits of thrift. The success they have won points to the soundness of their philosophy and lines of approach and is evidence that the social and economic problems of rural Jamaica will yield to a determined, patient, concerted programme under intelligent and devoted leadership.

#### PROGRAMMES OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

There is an interesting variety of social and economic work being carried on by several of the religious bodies in Jamaica. *Swift-Purscell Home and Industrial School for Boys*

This school and home for boys is operated by the Society of Friends. The school is giving a vocational training in practical trades to thirty-seven boys from five to sixteen years of age. The boys all live in the school. Until the age of twelve, the work for the boys consists of elementary grade schooling and, during the next four years, consists of training in trades and agriculture. Every boy receives some training in each of three departments: academic, agricultural, and industrial—including wood-working, shoemaking, and tailoring—and is required to specialize in one. Each pupil has his own garden plot, three yards square, upon which he works one day a week and the produce of which is his. He must put one-half of the earnings from the sale of his produce into a savings bank account. Twice a week he works on the school farm of seven acres. The mornings are spent in the classrooms, and the afternoons are devoted to gardening, farm work, and craftwork in the shops. The construction of houses and shops and all the work around the institution are done by the boys themselves as a part of their training. The annual cost of educating a boy is £30 which entails a budget of £1,110—one-third of this amount coming from the earnings of the farm and shops and two-thirds from a trust fund.

*Friends Social Welfare Training School*

The only social welfare training we observed in Jamaica is conducted by the Friends in a Training School at Highgate, parish of St. Mary. Here, in a small building, a group of nine students, both young men and women, are being prepared for leadership in social and economic activities by a varied course of practice work and instruction. The enthusiasm and skill of an able staff of teachers in experimenting with island products were being communicated to the students.

A delightful feature of this school was the comradeship between teacher and student working together on the same projects and sharing in all discoveries and achievements. Another feature was the simplicity of the whole set-up: the invention and use of homemade machines, the insight and patient experimentation with the natural materials of the environment, and the evolution of products suited to local needs. The craft-work was still in the experimental stage, and the next step that is planned is to commercialize the products.

Among the activities upon which teachers and students are working were: weaving of rugs, scarfs, belts, rush footmats, lunch baskets, wastebaskets, spinning and weaving Jamaican wool, furniture-making, carving, mattress-stuffing, upholstering, book-binding, leather-tanning, pottery, bee-keeping, and gardening.

Instruction also included training in social welfare methods, child welfare clinics, day nursery work, and community activities in conjunction with local health and nursing centres. The social welfare training included, in addition to classroom lectures, field visitation and case work on the problems of the depressed homes of the district. The students take as a project the diagnosing of individual home problems under the leadership of their teachers and plan courses of remedial measures with these cases.

*Methodist Workshop and School at Morant Bay*

At Morant Bay, a Methodist pastor is conducting a workshop and carpentry school in the basement of his own home for poor boys who are out of work or homeless. Beginning as a remedial salvaging experiment for helping two or three lads, the project

has grown into a small cabinet-making enterprise in which eight or ten boys are constantly employed. Chairs, stools, desks, tables, and even parlour and bedroom sets of furniture are attempted. Orders are placed with this home shop from Kingston and other centres, and the excellence of the workmanship has resulted in more orders than can be filled.

### *Presbyterian Orphan Farm at Montego Bay*

The Presbyterian Orphan Farm at Montego Bay is located in the hills a few miles inland from the town upon a woodland tract of 270 acres of which 35 acres are cleared and 12 are under cultivation. The director and his wife are in charge of twenty-nine boys from six to seventeen years of age who live in the ancient but substantial house which serves as the farm home. The boys divide their time between elementary classroom studies, farm work, and handicrafts. The boys cultivate bananas, cassava, sugarcane, yams, and peas and take care of the cows, goats, pigs, poultry, and horse. About one-half of the cost of running the farm is met from the sale of produce, and the other half is made up from a government grant to each boy of seven shillings a week and by gifts from the churches and contributions from the mission.

We were impressed with the extreme simplicity and frugality of the organization and the devotion with which those in charge were making a home for these homeless lads. There is a great deal of difficulty in placing these boys upon leaving the farm, with the result that they tend to stay on in the home to the point of blocking the entry of younger boys.

### *Work of the Salvation Army*

The varied and efficient institutional work of the Salvation Army is centred in Kingston, but through its system of parish posts and rural organization it is island-wide in its influence.

A Home League whose work is to impart wholesome ideals and useful knowledge in the management of Christian home life, in training children, and in influencing the social and spiritual life of the community is widely organized in the island.

The Bethesda Home in Kingston cares for forty girls between

twelve and eighteen years of age who have had police court records or who come from dangerous surroundings. Through association with the girls in training for domestic service, and under the influence and teaching of a Christian environment, these juvenile delinquents are given a chance to redeem their past.

A unique and beautiful community service is given at "The Nest" in Kingston. Here, babies of leper parents are cared for and reared in clean, wholesome surroundings and are later placed with foster parents.

A more pretentious project is the Kingston Home and School for the Blind which has fifty-five pupils. It is the only institution for the blind in Jamaica. There are boarding and day school departments where, besides instruction in the Braille Method, the pupils are taught weaving, simple gardening, plaiting, wood-working, sewing, and dress-making. The school is splendidly housed with separate quarters for the adults and children and is subsidized by Government.

A hostel for homeless transients is operated in a congested part of Kingston. Its cubicles and dormitories have 120 beds costing occupants from 1d. to 3d. a night, and meals are offered at 3d. to 6d. Those who are entirely destitute are housed free. Women transients are also cared for in a separate wing of the hostel.

The Discharged Prisoner's Aid Department assists discharged prisoners by giving them tools and advice and helps the men to find work on their discharge. The Army also carries on an island-wide probation work for juvenile first-offenders through the presence of probation officers in many of the police courts.

The Affiliation Service of the Army, jointly carried on with the Child Welfare Association, advises and helps young mothers in securing support for their children in cases where the father has declined responsibility. Employment bureaus are operated in various centres, and missing friends are sought in all parts of the world.

An officers' training school with twenty-two candidates, both men and women, is operated in Kingston.

*The Bethlehem Elementary School at Malvern*

The Bethlehem Elementary School under the management of the Moravians at Malvern is an example of kitchen garden training at its best. The 150 pupils come from the poorest homes of the neighbourhood and pay no fees. The garden plots, occupying an area of seventy by sixty feet and surrounded by a four-foot stone wall, are made and tended by the children. The pupils work in the garden twice a week for two hours—cultivating, weeding, planting, and watering. The garden is laid out in beds measuring six by twenty feet neatly banked with stone edges. Each bed is devoted to one vegetable crop and has a placard describing the name, chief characteristics, method of cultivation, distance between the rows of plants, time of maturing, harvesting, etc. The beds are covered with an inch layer of dried grass to keep the soil from blowing away and to check the evaporation of moisture.

The Department of Agriculture provides the required tools and seeds and sends its advisor each quarter to visit the garden and to suggest improvements in technique, etc. A part of the produce is sold, and the rest is divided between the teachers and the children.

*West Indian Training College at Mandeville*

An outstanding institution is the West Indies Training College of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church at Mandeville, Manchester Parish. The school provides both an academic and a practical preparation for life and prepares its students for continuation study, including theological training, by carrying them through the fourteenth standard or Junior College grade. The 160 students are drawn from all over the Caribbean area.

The West Indian Training College is notable in that, with the exception of the salaries of the three missionary teachers, it is entirely self-supporting. The school occupies a valuable property of 270 acres which is used for training and experimental purposes. It is also used as a source of food for the school. The farm produce plus the sale of the products of the modern bakery, which turns out six hundred loaves a day, and the machine, wood-working, tinning and printing shops pay for the upkeep



of the institution. The students earn their entire tuition and board by working in the shops, the domestic science division, and on the farm. Each student receives a cash wage, per hour, for his work and from this pays for his tuition, his books, and his board (which is on the cafeteria plan). The equipment of the shops—their machines, tools, and power—is very modern and capable of a first-class output, but it is not entirely adapted to the requirements and resources of the average Jamaican community. The school is outstanding in its business management, the splendid condition of its shops and fields, its well-kept buildings, and the enthusiasm of its staff.

## CHAPTER VI

### LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

THERE ARE four lines of action which are suggested to the Churches of Jamaica as they approach the task of sharing in the economic and social reconstruction of society.

The first is to study more intimately the nature of the economic and social forces which are active in the island, the relation of these forces to the inheritance of Jamaican society, and their bearing upon the programme of the Church.

The second is for the Church to co-operate with governmental and secular agencies and utilize the measures which have been set up in Jamaica for strengthening the whole position of the people.

Third, to reconstruct the programme of the Church in ways which are adapted to meet the changing conditions in the island, including the preparation of the ministry and of lay leaders for directing the new programmes.

Finally, to determine a policy and plan of action by which the united experience and resources of the Churches of Jamaica can be brought to bear upon these common problems.

The spiritual task of the Jamaican Church remains the same after more than one hundred years of work: to help the Jamaican to understand himself as a child of God and to experience God's redeeming grace. But the scope of the Church's task in relation to Jamaican society has considerably changed during this period.

In the years immediately following the abolition of slavery in Jamaica, the missionaries undertook to reconstruct a slave society upon the basis of its new freedom. They not only worked for the spiritual regeneration of the newly freed slaves but urged Government and the public to fulfil the provisions of the Act of Emancipation. The church leaders helped to create a new social conscience with regard to the Jamaican and also led the way in his rehabilitation. Side by side with their churches they built schools throughout the island and laid the foundation of education in the colony. These leaders saw that spiritual and academic

teaching alone were not enough, and they led in the movement which placed the freed man upon the land and secured the laws which guarded his rights. The rôle of the church pastor in this period was astonishingly wide, for besides a spiritual ministry it included the economic, social, and cultural stabilization of the people. The Church was a centre of life for the Jamaican.

#### THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

While a position of community leadership is still taken by many pastors, some serving as Justices of the Peace, others upon Boards of Supervisors, Boards of Education, and Village Community Councils, on the whole, the place of Church and pastor in the community in recent years has undergone profound changes. Progressive laws bearing upon health, sanitation, housing, delinquency, and employment have been enacted. There has also been a standardization of services in the British colonial system based upon economic, social, and anthropological research together with the work of many royal commissions. Therefore, today, the pastor finds himself in a considerable company of government officials and lay leaders, all eager to aid the Jamaican.

Looked at from the perspective of one hundred years of history, the changed rôle of the Church in the little island world of Jamaica is proof of the growth of a Christian civilization. However, the Churches of Jamaica now have reached a parting of the ways. They have been overtaken by other agencies in their guidance of the Jamaican proletariat. A generation of secular workers has appeared, trained in sociology and economics—studies not ordinarily found in the education of the pastor. Skilled leaders with considerable funds are setting up remedial programmes in the communities where the pastor was formerly the chief advocate of the people.

New movements in Jamaican society also confront the pastor. The labour union, the People's Party, Citizens' Associations, Jamaica Welfare Limited, Community Councils, and Land Settlement Associations have appeared. He sees his sphere of influence contracting, and the allegiance of many of his constituency transferred to others. The new trend presents the pastor with social, economic and political theories and techniques upon which, because of his position of leadership, he is expected to

have positive opinions and concrete ideas. Such a situation is too exacting for the average pastor. It is not too much, however, to expect that the denominational group to which he belongs will do all possible to help him meet this changing situation.

### *Pastor Specialists*

It would be possible for a group of churches to appoint a pastor to study a specific problem. As a student of the problem, he would then be able to serve the whole denominational group.

If such a course is too heavy a tax upon one denomination, the united resources of the Jamaica Christian Council should be equal to the task. Among the many pastors of the Churches forming the Council there may be men who have been specially trained or who have had experience in the economic and social problems of the Church. Such men could be assigned to help all the churches of the island by studying the problems which are of common concern.

### *Study Groups on Special Problems*

However, in case men with special training in these fields are not available, study groups or commissions composed of members chosen from the principal denominational groups might be formed by the Council to study together such subjects as:

Pocomania	Home Building and Family
Emotional Sects	Problems
Obeah	Government Development
Illegitimacy	Board Programmes
Housing	Land Settlement
Health and Nutrition	Diversification of Crops
Illiteracy	Food Production
Use of Leisure Time	Co-operatives
Unemployment	Small Unit and Cottage
Gambling	Industries
Youth and the Church	Child Labour
The People's Party	Labour Unions

A commission would gather and distribute information; make special surveys; make available the reports of official investigations; secure the texts of laws and literature relating to these

questions; and build up a body of facts which would serve as the basis upon which the Christian movement of the colony would be able to formulate intelligent policies and programmes of action.

### *Training to Meet Economic and Social Problems*

Another suggested measure is to train the pastor in sociology and economics, both the theory and practice. The parish problems form a closely integrated network made up of economic and social as well as spiritual factors, but as a rule, the young pastor has been trained for the spiritual sphere alone. Such a training is insufficient, since economic and social forces can limit, and, in some cases, completely obstruct the spiritual ministry.

We suggest that the present courses of study for ministerial candidates be supplemented with lectures in rural sociology, rural economics, anthropology, and other subjects which would introduce the theological students to the special problems of the rural parishes.

For instance, "Better Use of the Land" is a motto which should be emphasized by every preacher and educator in Jamaica. Since one of the greatest hopes for bettering economic life lies in intensive gardening, diversification of crops, and land settlement, the pastor should use his influence in the support of these policies. The best way to promote such policies is by demonstrating theory with practice. The pastor's own garden need not be large but should be a model in seed selection and gardening, and should receive the personal attention of the minister. The pastor's wife can assist the scheme by learning to prepare and preserve surplus garden produce. Summer Institutes for the pastor and his wife might include courses both in gardening and processing the produce. By keeping poultry, bees, rabbits, and goats, the minister and his family would not only supplement both their diet and income but stimulate parishioners to better their standard of living.

For courses in rural sociology, rural economics, and anthropology, it would be necessary to add one or more special lecturers to the faculties of the theological schools already co-operating in Kingston. Such lecturers could be jointly supported by all the groups of Churches who wish to give their pastoral candidates this training. The lectures could also be opened to the pastors



of any church denomination. Government officials and welfare workers could give the theological students an introduction to the theory and practice of dealing with education, land settlement, employment, food production, health, co-operatives, recreation, delinquency and crime, and the methods by which the social and economic problems of the people are being met. This might include visits by students to projects where different problems are actually being handled. Summer or vacation institutes could be held for church pastors, teachers, and workers at which shorter courses on similar subjects would be given, together with field visitation.

By such means, the ministers of Jamaica would become more thoroughly familiarized with the economic and social problems of the island, acquainted with the chief measures for dealing with them, and would be able to co-operate more effectively with the agencies whose primary duty it is to cope with them. No one of the Protestant denominations commands sufficient funds to undertake a programme of this kind. However, by pooling resources and securing the united action of the church organizations represented in the National Christian Council of Jamaica, much might be accomplished.

### *The Missionary Specialist*

Another suggestion is for the missionary societies of Great Britain and the United States to select missionaries for the Jamaican Churches who have had training in economics, sociology, anthropology, and the special problems of rural life. Every missionary cannot be expected to meet these qualifications, but if, in the course of a few years, each denomination could add to its staff one or more men who have had first-class training in these subjects, a practical beginning would be made.

The Roman Catholic Church in Jamaica is alert to its opportunity in equipping its missionaries with first-class economic and sociological training and providing workers with wide experience in eleemosynary and social welfare activities. On the whole, the Protestant Church in Jamaica, is not similarly equipped for leadership in this field nor does its various branches have this concept of responsibility.

*Training in Church Finance*

Another subject which should be included in the training of every candidate for the pastorate is the theory and practice of church finance. Despite the splendid record of self-support of the Jamaican churches, a majority of them are experiencing severe difficulty in supporting their pastors. The burden of support is left upon the individual pastor's shoulders, but he goes to his post with little or no training in financial church management.

There are three subjects which, if included in the seminary curriculum, would help the pastor to deal with this question of church economics:

1. The principle of Christian giving—sometimes called “Christian Stewardship”—and the Biblical basis for the giving of self and possessions. A pastor who is trained in these subjects can make them a vital part of his preaching ministry.
2. Church finance, organization, and management. Training in budgeting, methods of raising funds, church financial records, financial publicity, and the financial education of church members.
3. Methods of giving to the Church: giving in kind; the Lord's Acre principle; endowments in buildings or land; pooling of labour for work on church land; self-denial week; tithing; etc.

The theological students should have the opportunity to observe money-raising methods for church support and to participate in their use. They should also visit successful churches and study their various financial methods.

*Collaboration between Church and Government*

Another policy of importance to the Churches is the necessity of their close collaboration with secular measures of social and economic reconstruction and the use of the facilities and privileges which are made available to the public by them.

Jamaica is witnessing a notable effort by Government to reconstruct her economic and social life. Upon the success of Government in this effort depends, in large measure, the possibility of the economic and cultural growth and strength of the Church. In this effort the Churches have the singular opportunity of being 1,200 potential nuclei of rehabilitation for Jamaican

life. Each pastor should familiarize himself with governmental and private efforts in his parish which are trying to uphold society, and he should, so far as possible, associate himself with these efforts and encourage his people to co-operate. It would be a source of great strength to Government if, in all of its efforts at reconstruction: in agriculture, land settlement, housing, health, sanitation, literacy, and employment, it could count upon the Churches for intelligent and active co-operation. In reality, the pastor has every reason to welcome the secular welfare agency and to see in its efforts an enrichment of life for his parish.

The pastors of Jamaica are closer to the people and understand the circumstances of their environment better than any other body of leaders. This knowledge, and the popular confidence which they enjoy, is a potential force which is difficult to over-estimate for furthering the efforts of Government and for building up the economic and social conditions of society. In securing the co-operation of a pastor in a secular community programme, much depends upon the tact and personality of the new leaders. A veteran pastor may easily be rebuffed by an attitude of easy assurance and superiority on the part of a young trained expert. The consciousness of a lack of training for the new type of community service may also keep the pastor from participation, or his reluctance to appear at a disadvantage before the community may stand in the way.

The informed church pastor is also in a position to assist the community in enforcing laws such as Sunday labour, child labour, marriage, the support of children, sanitation, health, petty larceny, gambling, a minimum wage, and alcoholism. Here is a wide field in which the interests of the Church parallel those of Government. Frequently, the church pastor is the best-informed man in the district upon some of these matters. While a pastor obviously must use with discretion his knowledge of local conditions, the fact of this knowledge places a unique responsibility upon him.

The special calling of the pastor is not endangered by the new leadership. His commanding position in the community places upon him the obligation of collaborating with every forward effort. Such collaboration not only will enhance the welfare of

the community but will widen and deepen the foundations of the Church.

The Churches of Jamaica are not called upon to parallel the economic and social programmes of Government. Their rôle will be that of experimentation and demonstration of new methods and putting content and quality into those activities which they attempt. Their school buildings should be centres of village life where community problems are discussed and public opinion is formed. Their churches and Sunday schools will be generating points of moral discipline and of high standards for individual and civic conduct which are the foundations for individual or community progress. The pastor, teacher, and church lay worker will clothe with reality the framework of Christian rules and sanctions embodied in such words as home, family, citizenship, responsibility, truth, and honour.

#### EMPHASES IN EDUCATION

##### *Additional Schools*

The first emphasis is the paramount need of greatly increasing the school capacity and attendance of the educational system. With less than fifty per cent. of the children of the island enrolled and only thirty-five per cent. of them in school attendance, the heroic measures which Government is exerting for permanent social and economic uplift among the masses are blocked from the start. Education is the great and almost only hope of creating new generations of young people who will be able to understand and continue to utilize in the years to come the facilities for progress which the programme of social and economic rehabilitation offers.

##### *Pre-School Training*

The little child of pre-school age is probably the weakest link in the chain of human development in Jamaica which Church and Government are trying to forge. The child from the poorer homes begins his school life badly handicapped for normal growth. The crowded shack, in which he has slept in the same room with parents and older brothers and sisters and where no privacy is possible, gives him a precocious education in sex. Through this early experience he may receive a permanent

obsession which will colour his whole life. Under the prevailing home conditions, the child lacks the rudiments of discipline, knows nothing of personal care, manners, and the rights of others. The chances are good that the child will begin school undernourished and with parasitic and malarial infection. Such handicapped children place an additional load upon the teacher who is trying to help them to adapt themselves alongside better prepared and more normal youngsters who have had the ground-work provided by a disciplined family life.

To meet this situation, a system of pre-school training of the day nursery and kindergarten type where the foundations for living may be built into the lives of the young Jamaicans is of major importance. This is a measure which may well check the trend towards increasing promiscuity and illegitimacy, for it helps to bridge the gap in Jamaican society caused by the absence of a normal family life. This is a measure which the churches can well urge Government to undertake, and in which they can take the initiative and do useful experimentation of their own.

### *The Jamaican Woman and Her Home*

Another needed emphasis is the education of mothers in the responsibilities of motherhood, homemaking, nurture of children, self-discipline, and child discipline. This would include training in health, sanitation, preparation of food, the prevention and treatment of children's diseases and common island ailments, and simple ways of beautifying and cleaning their simple homes and caring for garden plots. This is a staggering task, for it means no less than remaking the homes of well over one half of the people of Jamaica. It is a task which calls for the development of a new profession of women leaders, and it is a task which deeply concerns the Church.

### *Educational Leadership*

This great field of home service requires the leadership of skilled and trained women workers who have the needed gifts of character and insight. They themselves must believe in the Christian values which are basic in the noblest home life. A pastor's



wife trained along these lines would be invaluable. Some churches recommend that every pastor's wife should have at least one practical course in youth activities, home-making, child care, or nursing, in order to supplement the ministry of her husband. A pastor and a wife, thus equipped, would be able to divide the responsibility for many community problems. A fine beginning in this field of social service training has already been made at Carron Hall, at the Deaconess Training Centres of the Methodist Church in Kingston, by Jamaica Welfare Limited, and by the Young Women's Christian Association.

The importance of selecting school teachers of Christian character and training for the schools of the colony would be difficult to overstate. The moulding of the nation is in their hands. The most stubborn enemies of progress in Jamaica are not economic in character, grave as these unquestionably are, but rather are moral, ethical, and spiritual. Unless a change is effected in the moral fibre, ethical standards, and spiritual values of the masses, no improvement of housing, land utilization, or of earning power will bring permanent prosperity to the island. A teaching staff of men and women is required who not only are aware of these values but themselves embody them, and, for this, men and women of religious faith are necessary. In the educational partnership of Church and Government in Jamaica, it would seem that Government should supply the technical standards and preparation for teaching candidates, and the Church provide their spiritual training and determine their fitness of character.

### *Visual Education*

Visual education, through the cinema, would seem to be a measure which would support all other efforts in Jamaica that are being made for social, economic, and moral reconstruction.

A Visual Education Council could be formed with members from the Departments of Government, the Churches, and the welfare agencies of the colony. An experimental programme of scenarios would be drawn up by the Council based upon a study of the objectives to be attained, the resources at hand, and upon the results of other visual education projects. A capital fund, not necessarily very large, for making and displaying films could

be secured either from Government, popular subscription, or a research foundation. A travelling display unit would show the films in every part of the island, and thereby could determine the relative value of each film within local communities. This would be a guide to determine the subjects and technique of treatment of subsequent films. A library of valuable films would, in time, be created, and particular pictures would be available to various organizations for display at low cost.

### *Education in the Use of Time*

A major task of the Jamaican pastor is to encourage his people to make better use of their time. In this unused time, frequently aggregating from one hundred to as much as one hundred and fifty days in the year for one man, the pastor has a vast fund of potential strength with which to work. The greatest hope here lies with the younger generations. Since the Church directs three-quarters of the nation's schools, it has the power to help the children of Jamaica to understand the value of time and can train them in its use. Reading rooms, clubs, subsistence gardening, cottage industries, handicrafts, debating and study groups, chorus singing, music bands, boy scouts and girl guides will all help to cut down the appalling waste of this common asset.

### *Post-School Reading*

A parallel may be drawn between the partly literate Jamaican communities and many communities in British West and East Africa in their need for simple and attractive reading matter. The Committee on Literature for Africa, 2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1. has produced a series of small readers, stories, and information on current affairs which is adapted to the use of African people who have been educated in mission and government schools. With minor adjustments, the output of this Committee is well suited to the rural communities in Jamaica. Suitable reading matter would keep the partly educated child from slipping back into an illiterate state and would help mould his character and life habits.

### CHURCH COMITY AND CONTROL

The question of dealing with the independent religious sects in Jamaica is one of such magnitude and difficulty that it calls

for the united action of the Christian Churches of Jamaica. Some of these sects are led by foreign missionaries, chiefly from the United States, and receive foreign funds; others, although founded from abroad, have no longer an alien connection and are led and supported locally. Of the two groups, the former is the smaller but also the more difficult to control.

There are two control points for independent religious bodies: one, at their point of origin; the other, at the point of entry into Jamaica. There needs to be a more careful examination of the auspices and qualifications of such foreign missionaries who seek passports from the American Government. The Conference of Foreign Missionary Societies of North America could well make this question a subject of study. The International Missionary Council, which has constituent bodies in over thirty countries and is in contact with governments and conditions in many fields, would be a source of counsel for national Church bodies or for governments which are concerned. At the risk of encroaching upon religious liberty, it should be made impossible for any group of individuals or churches to set themselves up as teachers and propagandists in other parts of the world without evidence of fitness for such a responsible rôle.

At the receiving end of the missionary problem, the Government could require a test in education and a pledge of loyalty before granting its visa to the applicant in the sending country. Applications for visas could, with reason, be refused to societies whose churches have been a source of trouble. One of the important functions of the National Christian Council would be to assist Government with advice upon sects whose activities and teachings have been subversive to the public welfare.

This is a problem which the National Christian Council of Jamaica should study, since it vitally affects every denomination and the whole reconstruction programme of the colony. Upon the basis of a serious investigation, the Council would be able to help the Government control this situation.

The second group of sects—those which have no foreign connections—should be more amenable to handling. Certain aspects of the problem come under the control of the Departments of Education and Public Health. Here, again, the National

Christian Council could greatly assist Government in supplying accurate information and counsel.

#### JAMAICAN PSYCHOLOGY AND THE OCCULT

Jamaican psychology is intimately related to the problem of independent religious sects and the emotional expression which they encourage among their followers. We suggest that a first-class study of this basic aspect of Jamaican character be undertaken. It must be obvious that the repression of strong racial emotions alone will be of little or no value in finding a solution to the problem.

Are there characteristics and enduring elements of Jamaican psychology which the Churches have overlooked or have sought to repress as undesirable traits of character? Could these, if better understood, be seen as assets and used in the development of a more harmonious and natural Christian community life? Is it possible that the rigid discipline and the lack of imagination and understanding of the forces which sway the African heart have been partly responsible for creating this trend toward an undisciplined and a less dignified type of religious expression which is offered to the Jamaican by the independent sects?

The personnel of such a study would advantageously be composed of men and women who are acquainted with many aspects of Jamaican life, and should include church men, educators, health and social welfare experts, criminologists, anthropologists, and psychologists.

A parallel study of obeah, Jamaican witchcraft, and the practice of the occult could be profitably set up. It would be important to include in any serious investigation Jamaicans who are intimately acquainted with these subjects. While it is doubtful whether the white man equipped with modern science alone would be able to reach accurate conclusions upon this subject, the help of an anthropologist who has made studies of psychic phenomena among the West African tribes from which the Jamaican slaves were originally captured would be of very great value.

In the light of changing conditions in the Jamaican community, what is the place and responsibility of the Church of Christ?

The unique task of the Church is a spiritual one: to relate the imperfect spirit of man to God and to make plain the nature of the redemption which God has provided him through His Son, Jesus. This provision for man of a new source of power and a new concept of himself is the unique task of the Church in the reconstruction of a backward society.

Government and secular agencies provide the legal, economic, and social framework for the reconstruction of society, but they are powerless to impart to men and women the inner power by which they can break the inertia and change the ways of life which hold them back and use the opportunities which Government has provided. The Church of Christ supplies this energizing power and can interpret to Jamaicans the spiritual significance of the institutions with which the Government and secular agencies provide them. The Church must imbue the relationships and institutions of society, marriage, the establishment of the home, the rearing of children, and personal and community relationships with their deepest meanings. Their inner spiritual content can be supplied through the discipline and teachings of the Christian religion and through it alone.







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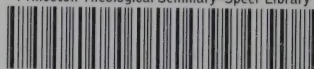
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